

Letters on the colonization society; and on its probable results; under the following heads

LETTERS ON THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY; AND ON ITS PROBABLE RESULTS;

UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADS:

The Origin of the Society; Increase of the Coloured Population; Manumission of Slaves in this country;

DECLARATIONS OF LEGISLATURES, AND OTHER ASSEMBLED BODIES, IN FAVOUR OF THE SOCIETY;

SITUATION OF THE COLONISTS AT MONROVIA, AND OTHER TOWNS; MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE SETTLERS; SOIL, CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, AND COMMERCE OF LIBERIA;

ADVANTAGES TO THE FREE COLOURED POPULATION, BY EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA; DISADVANTAGES OF SLAVERY TO THE WHITE POPULATION; CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES OF AFRICA BEFORE THE IRRUPTIONS OF THE BARBARIANS; EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION ON THE SLAVE TRADE, WITH A SLIGHT SKETCH OF THAT NEFARIOUS AND ACCURSED TRAFFIC.

ADDRESSED TO THE HON. C. F. MERCER, M. H. R. U. S.

BY M. CAREY.

FOURTH EDITION, GREATLY ENLARGED AND IMPROVED.

“Nearly two thousand persons have kindled a beacon fire at Monrovia, to cast a broad blaze of light into the dark recesses of that benighted land; and though much pains have been taken to overrate the cost, and under-value the results, yet the annals of colonization may be triumphantly challenged for a parallel.

“Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for surveying the coast—propitiating the natives—and selecting the most eligible site. Numerous agents were subsequently employed—ships chartered—the—coast cleared—schools, factories, hospitals, churches, government buildings, and dwellings erected—and the many expenses requisite here, were defrayed;—and yet, for every fifty dollars expended by the society from its commencement, we have not only a settler to show, but an ample and fertile territory in reserve, where our future emigrants may ‘sit down under their own vines and fig-trees, with none to make them afraid.’ During the last year, an amount, nearly equal to the united expenditures, has been exported by the colonists. *From Philadelphia alone, eleven vessels have sailed;* three of them chartered through the efforts of the Pennsylvania Society, and bearing

to the land of their fathers, a large number of slaves, manumitted by the benevolence of their late owners."— *Cresson*.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 19, 1832.

STEREOTYPED BY L. JOHNSON.

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"We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature, for the record of any human plan, for the melioration of the condition or advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good, or more comprehensive beneficence than that of African colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited by the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race; but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and the happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. It appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty, here and elsewhere. The colonists, reared in the bosom of this republic, with a perfect knowledge of all the blessings which freedom imparts, although they have not always been able themselves to share them, will carry a recollection of it to Africa, plant it there, and spread it over her boundless territory. And may we not indulge the hope, that, in a period of time, not surpassing in duration that of our own colonial and national existence, we shall behold a confederation of republican states, on the western shores of Africa, like our own, with their congress and annual legislatures, thundering forth in behalf of the rights of man, and making tyrants tremble on their thrones?"— *Mr. Clay*.

"It will enable them to become a free, independent, civilized, and Christian nation in the land of their forefathers. Elevated in character, and in full enjoyment of the rights of man, they will not only assume a station in the great human family, which it is impossible for them to attain in this country; but their example and influence will gradually extend over those numerous tribes, which, through all time, have remained in a state of barbarism and degradation, and cruelly subjected to slavery by surrounding and distant nations."— *Dearborn*.

"They point to Africa, sitting beneath her own palm trees, "clothed in sackcloth, and weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted," because they have been murdered on her desolated shores, and buried beneath the billows of the ocean, and carried into hopeless and interminable slavery. Wretched Africa! she has indeed fallen among thieves, who have robbed and wounded her,

and she is now bleeding from a thousand wounds. *Who will act to her the part of a good Samaritan? Who will "bind up her wounds, and pour into them wine and oil, " and protect her from her enemies, and chase away those human vultures, that are perpetually hovering on her coasts, and feeding on the flesh and blood of her children? Who will light for her the lamp of science, and publish the glad tidings of salvation to her sons and daughters? and raise her from that state of moral degradation, into which she has sunk in the lapse of ages?"— M'Kinney.*

"There is not, we believe, another benevolent enterprise on earth, so well calculated to secure the favourable opinion, and enlist the hearty good will of ALL MEN, as this, when its objects and bearings are fully understood. In relation to this society, it is eminently the fact, that opposition and indifference have their origin in prejudice or want of information. Ignorance may raise an objection which it requires knowledge to remove; and to rest one's refusal to co-operate in what he is told is a good work, on his own ignorance, is both weak and wicked. Especially in relation to a benevolent enterprize of such magnitude as this, and which has been some ten or fifteen years before the public, the plea of ignorance is made with a very ill grace.

"Is a nation like this, to be embarrassed by an annual appropriation of little more than a million of dollars to the cause of humanity? A nation, that can extinguish in a year, twelve millions of national debt, and at the same time prosecute with vigour its majestic plans of defence and internal improvement? A nation, one of whose states can hazard six millions of dollars on the project of opening a canal?—a nation, whose canvass whitens every sea, and proudly enters almost every harbour of the globe?—a nation, whose villages and cities are rising, as by magic, over a fertile territory of two millions of square miles?—a nation, destined, within the compass of the passing century, to embosom a white population of eighty millions? With the past smiles of Divine Providence, our national debt will be soon annihilated. And from that glad hour, let the government provide liberally for all its necessary operations—let it push forward in its splendid machinery of political improvement, and then give to our cause but the surplus of its revenue: and as regards the expense of transportation, *it will [at no distant day] furnish the means of granting to every African exile among us, a happy home in the land of his fathers.*"— Rev. B. Dickinson.

"Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions."— *Clay.*

"We know of no cause in which the lovers of mankind, the patriot, and the christian, can embark, with surer, and more brilliant prospects of success, than in the cause of the colonization of our free blacks on the coast of Africa. The philanthropist and the christian may find in that section of Africa, in which this infant colony is located, fifty millions of immortal beings, as wild as the forests they inhabit—where the Slave Trade sweeps annually into captivity its unnumbered thousands—where

all the horrors of savage warfare are perpetual. In this benighted land, a beacon fire is now blazing, which must eventually dispel the gloom of paganism, and make her deserts glad with the sentiments of a better nature."— *Political Clarion*.

"To the lasting honour of the American Colonization Society, it has founded a new empire on that continent, of which the basis is Christianity, intelligence, and rational liberty; has conducted it happily through the perilous stages of its inception and early growth;—has seen its members in the full possession of the means of acquiring the comforts of life, and sustaining, against any anticipated opposition, the stand to which they are advanced. * * * The Society has demonstrated, experimentally, to the world, the soundness of the views with which they appeared before it in 1816–17, without funds, patronage, or a precedent in the annals of the human race."— *Ashmun*.

3

PREFACE.

From the ardent opposition made to the Colonization Society by some of our white citizens, and by a number of the free coloured population it might be supposed, by those unacquainted with the nature of the case, that the emigrants were absolutely pressed, like British seamen, and hurried off against their inclinations—that they were here in the enjoyment of all the solid advantages of society, each man "sitting under his own vine and his fig tree, and none to make him afraid,"—that in Liberia, they were to be, in some degree, enslaved—and that the climate was pestilential, and the soil sterile and ungrateful. Were this a true picture of the case, the opposition to the Society could not be more ardent or zealous.

Having treated on the situation of the free coloured population of this country, (p. 27,) we shall not, therefore, refer to it here: but so far as regards the colony at Liberia, it is proved, by evidence of the most undeniable character—of American Captains, Kennedy, Sherman, Nicholson, and Abels; by that of Mr. Devany, a coloured man, High Sheriff of Liberia, who had been in the colony for six years, made a handsome fortune, and returned to this country to visit his friends and relations;—and more especially by that of a committee of the colonists at Monrovia, appointed to draw up an address to their brethren in this country; that the project of colonization has fully realized, and not merely realized, but exceeded the most sanguine expectations formed of it by its ardent supporters; that the contrast between the situation of the colonists and that of their brethren in this country, is immensely in favour of the former; and that the condition of the most favoured of the free coloured population here, is inferior in many important particulars, to that of the great mass of the colonists, any one of whom may, by good behaviour, aspire to the highest office in the colony, and in elections,

has as free a voice as Mr. Madison or Mr. Adams has, in the election of state and United States' officers.

It is, therefore, difficult to conceive what good purpose can be answered by the opposition to the plan of colonization, or by what motive its opposers can be influenced.

There are three strong points of view, in which this subject may be considered, which must gain for colonization the zealous and efficient support of every man, white or coloured, who is not under the dominion of inveterate and incurable prejudice. I omit other important points, which might be mooted.

I. The colony has arrested the progress of the nefarious and accursed slave trade in its neighbourhood; destroyed some slave factories, and liberated a number of slaves, who were on the point of being transported across the Atlantic, subject to all the horrors of the passage, and, if they escaped with life, to the horrors of perpetual slavery; and there cannot be a doubt, that at no distant day, the trade will be annihilated on the whole of the western coast of Africa.

II. It has been the means of securing the emancipation of hundreds of slaves, in various parts of the United States, who are now in a genial climate, enjoying the luxury of freedom with all its attendant blessings; and, from the present disposition of the citizens of some of the slave states, particularly Virginia, there is no doubt that thousands will be emancipated, as fast as means of transportation can be procured.

III. It has commenced spreading the blessings of civilization, morals, and religion among the natives in the neighbourhood of the colony, whom it has taught to depend on honest industry in the cultivation of the soil, instead of the demoniac operation of setting fire to towns and villages, for the horrible purpose of seizing the wretched fugitives flying from the flames, which was their former occupation.

Now I freely appeal to Mr. Garrison, and Mr. Lundy, the most formidable opposers of colonization, and to their friends, and beg them to lay their hands on their hearts, and answer in the presence of their Maker, if any one of those objects does not repay ten fold the sacrifice which the whole have cost?

Among the objections—how easy to make plausible objections!—offered to the colonization plan, one is, that considering the immense number of the coloured people in this country, about 2,400,000, it is impossible to make any serious impression on them by emigration; especially as

the colony at present, after twelve years existence, contains but 2,000 souls. Let us examine this objection.

The annual increase, as I have shown, is about 60,000. We will suppose the object is, to keep the numbers to the present standard, which would be a great point gained. The expense to the government, or the Society, will probably be \$25 per head, for all the emigrants, large and small, (taking into consideration those who pay, or whose masters will pay their passage,) or about \$1,500,000 per annum, for that number. This sum, provided the subject were cordially taken up by the state legislatures and congress, would not be attended with the slightest difficulty. Indeed, if encountered with the zeal which its importance demands, twice the sum could be easily raised. But then the objectors emphatically demand, how shall we provide for the transportation of such a number?

It appears from Walsh's Sketches of Brazil, that there have been as many as 100,000 of the wretched negroes ravished from their 3 IV native land in one year. If the wretches engaged in that nefarious traffic could find means of transporting 100,000 human beings in one year across the Atlantic, surely this powerful nation could, to accomplish the great objects in view, and to rescue itself by degrees from the odious stain of slavery, accomplish the conveyance of 60, or even 100,000 to a land where they will be "lords of the soil." 60 or 70,000 persons have emigrated in one year from Great Britain and Ireland.

It is asked, how shall provision be made for such a number in Liberia? they will perish for want of sustenance!

Can there exist any fear on this subject, when the soil of Liberia produces two regular crops a year, with the most imperfect culture?*

* The first edition of this pamphlet, which was distributed gratuitously, wholly at the expense of the writer, was published Dec. 31, 1831. Two editions, of 7000 copies, and one at Hartford in Connecticut, have since been published, and it is now stereotyped, and disposed of at the mere cost of paper and printing, (\$5 per 100 copies,) in order to give it general circulation, in the hope of promoting a beneficent undertaking, which the writer conscientiously believes, hardly yields in importance to any agitated in this country, since the establishment of the present constitution. The Theological Society of Princeton, impressed with the same opinion on the subject as the writer, purchased 1000 copies—the Parent Colonization Society 1600—and above 30 patriotic individuals 100 each, and some 200 copies. These flattering testimonials in its favour, afford the writer the very high gratification to believe, that his labours in this cause have not been in vain.

Philadelphia, April 20, 1832.

P. S As this page was about to be put to press, the following interesting statement was handed to the writer, who avails himself of a chasm here, to insert it, as a proof that sounder and more favourable views of the Society, and of the situation of the colony, prevail in Charleston than among some of the coloured people here.

"On the 6th of December, 1831, there was a meeting held in Charleston, of a number of coloured people, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of emigrating to Liberia. The Chairman, Junius Eden, after stating the object, observed 'The inhabitants invite us to come and possess the land, to assist them to infuse into the natives, notions of pure morality, and to erect temples dedicated to the worship of Jehovah, where the injured sons of Africa may enter, and with united voices raise melodious songs of praise to Heaven's Eternal King.' He said that no sacrifice was too great to be made here in order to secure for ourselves and our children the blessings of social happiness in Africa, and concluded by calling on other members of the meeting to express their sentiments.

"Charles Henry then arose and said. 'Africa, the land of our fathers, although surrounded with clouds of darkness, seems to me to be extending her arms towards us as her only hope of relief, and calling on us loudly for help—saying, 'I struggle for light and for liberty, and call upon you by the *manes* of your ancestors, to come to MY *help* and YOUR *rightful possession*. Tarry then not, but come over and dispel the darkness from your benighted land. Come, and inspire us by your example with sentiments of virtue, and with a love of the duties taught by the meek and lowly Jesus. Come and erect altars, and light them with the pure fire of devotion to the only living and true God. Come and enforce the empire of reason, truth, and christianity over our benighted minds. Be no longer as a sentinel asleep at your post; desert not your own people and the country of your ancestors.' Mr. Henry concluded by submitting the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

"Whereas it will be unworthy of us as descendants of Africa, if after the bright and inspiring prospects which are held out to us of inheriting the land of our fathers, we let go, by supine negligence, the opportunity now offered by the Colonization Society of accepting the invitation of our brethren in Liberia to inherit and enjoy alike with them a land, not obtained by the harrowing price of blood and treachery, but by the unspotted gift of heaven to our ancestors. Therefore

" Resolved, That we take the Bible for our chart, with a full supply of love, hope, and faith, and leave the land that gave us birth, and emigrate to Liberia, in Africa, the land of our ancestors, there to spend the remnant of our days, in peace and harmony.

" Resolved, That we go to Africa as Harbingers of Peace in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ, and determined, by every virtuous deed, to set such examples as shall be worthy of the Christian name.

" Resolved, That we who compose this meeting, placing our only reliance in an All-wise Providence, and supplicating his guidance and direction in our affairs, do solemnly in his presence, pledge our faith to each other, that we will live in Africa in union and brotherly love as one family. And that they who shall reach Africa first, shall select suitable lands for the remainder; and that we will mutually assist each other, and afford, when needed, both spiritual and temporal aid; and in case of the death of the heads of families, the surviving members shall foster and afford the family of the deceased every possible relief.

" Resolved, That our motives for leaving the place that gave us birth, are honourable, just and right; and for the purity of our intentions, we appeal to the Judge of all the earth. And taking His word for our standard, we will not harbour or encourage any designs that may tend to disturb the peace and harmony of this state, or by any means alienate the affections of our brethren who are held as property, from their subordinate channel.

" Resolved, That as soon as our affairs can be brought to a close, we will make application to be conveyed to Liberia."

N.B. Major Barbour, a coloured man, who resided about seven years in Liberia, where he has left his family, and where he intends to return, is now in this city. He was a member of the committee which drew up the address to the coloured people of the U. S. which is to be seen in p. 20, and which draws such a very flattering picture of the situation of the colony and of the colonists.

LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

The Southampton Massacre.—Difference between the State of Slavery in Greece and Rome, and in the United States.—Various Plans of Colonization.—Objects of the Colonization Society.

TO THE HON. CHARLES FENTON MERCER.

Dear Sir, —The tragical issue of the insurrection in Southampton, in which above sixty whites fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of their slaves, and subsequently to which, a great number of slaves suffered the penalties of the violated laws of the state, has awakened the slave states out of their slumbers, and excited considerable attention towards our coloured population, and the awful consequences that may ensue, sooner or later, from the admixture of two heterogeneous castes in the country, without the least probability, at any future period, however remote, of an amalgamation between them, in consequence of the diversity of colour.

In this respect our situation is widely different from that of Greece or Rome. The great mass of their slaves were of the same colour as their masters, and a complete amalgamation might take place in a generation or two.—Against such a result, there is in this country, an insuperable barrier.

This subject had occupied the attention of some of the wisest and best men of the country, for above half a century. Several attempts were made in different provinces before the revolution, to prevent the importation of slaves, and acts were passed for the purpose; but they were uniformly rejected by the governors, under instructions from the British privy council—or by that council when the acts were transmitted for royal approbation. So early as 1772, the house of burgesses of Virginia, unanimously agreed upon an address to the king of Great Britain, praying him “to remove those restraints on the governors of the colony, which inhibited them from assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce.”

“The importation of slaves into the colonies, from the coasts of Africa, has long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your majesty's American Dominions.

“We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects in Great Britain, may reap emolument from this sort of traffic; but when we consider that *it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more white inhabitants, and may, in time, have the most destructive influence*, we presume to hope, that the interests of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.”

This and various other efforts were entirely fruitless. The trade remained unrestrained until the declaration of independence, when Virginia and some other states prohibited it altogether.

Unfortunately, the sound sentiments so explicitly expressed by the burgesses of Virginia, in 1772, were forgotten, or had lost their influence in 1787, when the federal constitution was formed. By

that instrument congress was prohibited from passing laws to prevent the importation of slaves for twenty years! A courtly style was employed. It was not thought proper to introduce the word "slaves."

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

In consequence of this unfortunate constitutional legitimization of the slave trade, it was carried on for twenty years on a large scale, and sowed a seed which has germinated with fatal fertility, and threatens a heavy retribution.

In the discussion of the best means of averting, or at least of mitigating the evil to be dreaded, from the existence among us of a class of people, who, although free, and therefore entitled to the advantages and privileges of freemen, were, nevertheless, in a great degree, debarred from them by the inexorable force of public prejudice, and, in most of the states, were subject to rules and regulations and proscriptions, of the most oppressive and galling kind—in this discussion, I say, public opinion unanimously settled down in favour of an extensive system of colonization.

On the subject of the location, there was not the same degree of unanimity. Some of our citizens were in favour of selecting a portion of the vacant territory of the United States, and setting it apart for the purpose. Others were, and some still are, for making an arrangement with the government of Mexico, and sending the class in question to Texas. Others, again, advocated a settlement on the western coast of Africa, being the *natale solum* of their ancestors, the climate being better suited to the great majority of the coloured people of this country. The last plan was finally adopted.

The objects of the friends of colonization are—

I. To rescue the free coloured people from the disqualifications, the degradation, and the proscription to which they are exposed in the United States.

II. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

III. To avert the dangers of a dreadful collision at a future day of the two castes, which must inevitably be objects of mutual jealousy to each other.

IV. To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion throughout the vast continent of Africa, at present sunk in the lowest and most hideous state of barbarism. B

V. And though last, not least, to afford slave owners who are conscientiously scrupulous about holding human beings in bondage, an asylum, to which they may send their manumitted slaves.

The last item has recently assumed a greatly increased importance. Manumissions are prohibited in some of the slave states, unless the parties remove beyond their boundaries; and the entrance of free negroes into others is prohibited; so that manumissions without deportation, appear to be almost wholly at an end.

With such noble objects in view, it is truly wonderful, that although the society has been in existence for sixteen years, the whole of the contributions, public and private, (except the support by the government of the United States, of negroes captured from slave traders) received up to the present day, by the society for carrying them into effect, has been but about \$165,000, little more than a cent a head for the entire population of the most prosperous nation in the world! a nation, moreover, in which other objects, some of them of inferior usefulness, are most liberally supported! This must have arisen from an impression entertained by many, that the scheme is absolutely impracticable. Hence, many liberal individuals have wholly withheld their contributions. Of this opinion was the writer of these letters, at an early stage of the existence of the society. He regarded it as one of the wildest projects ever conceived by enlightened men; and therefore, in the language of Sterne, respecting the monk, he was "pre-determined not to give them a single sous." Mature reflection has, however, convinced him of his error: he is now satisfied that the project is not more benignant and beneficent, than practicable, provided the general and state governments, and public-spirited individuals yield it a support in any degree commensurate with its importance.

In the hope of converting others, as he himself has been converted, he believes he may render an acceptable service to his country, by placing before the public, in plain, unadorned language, the leading features of the case, under the following prominent heads.

1. On the early plans of colonization, and the origin of the Society.
2. The purchase of Liberia.
3. Increase of the coloured population.
4. Expense of the passage of the emigrants.
5. Manumissions that have taken place, with a view to emigration to Liberia.

6. Progress of the colony, compared with the difficulties and disasters, experienced in the settlement of Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina.
7. Decided approbation of the Society by legislatures and other public bodies.
8. Testimonies of the prosperous situation of the colonists, by various American captains, &c.
9. Soil and climate, commerce, and productions of Liberia.
10. Disadvantages of slavery to the whites, and the advantages of colonization to the free people of colour.
11. Situation of Africa, before the irruptions of the barbarians.
12. Effects of the colony on the slave trade, with a slight sketch of that nefarious traffic.

April 8, 1832.

LETTER II.

Early plans of Colonization.— Mr. Jefferson's and Mr. Thornton's.—Resolved of the Legislature of Virginia.—Ineffectual Negotiations.—Formation of the Colonization Society.—Granville Shorpe, Anthony Benezet, Paul Cuffee.

As early as the year 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed to the legislature of Virginia, to be incorporated in the revised code of that State, a plan for colonizing the free coloured population of the United States. The particulars I have not been able to obtain. There is reason to believe, that he proposed the settlement in some of the western vacant lands. Be that as it may, the project proved an abortion, owing partly to the distractions and difficulties of the war, and partly to the novelty and magnitude of the undertaking. How much to be deplored the result! Had it succeeded, what a source of danger and disaster would have been dried up for ever!

In the year 1787, Dr. Thornton of Washington, formed a project for establishing a colony of that population on the western coast of Africa, and published an address to those residing in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him. A sufficient number of them agreed to go, and were prepared for the expedition. But this project failed, in consequence of the want of funds. The public mind was not then prepared for affording pecuniary support. Previous to the year 1801, the legislature of Virginia, twice debated in secret session, the subject of colonizing the free people of colour, without coming to any decision on it. But in 1801, they passed a resolution,

instructing Mr. Monroe, then governor of the state, to apply to the President of the United States, and urge him to institute negotiations with some of the powers of Europe possessed of colonies on the coast of Africa, to grant an asylum, to which our emancipated negroes might be sent. Mr. Jefferson opened a negotiation with the Sierra Leone Company, for the purpose, but without success. At that period, the colony was in a very depressed and decaying state, being under the command of a private company, who found its support extremely burdensome. They did not choose to increase their difficulties by an increase of the population. It was soon afterwards surrendered to the British government. 7 Mr. Jefferson subsequently applied to the government of Portugal, for an asylum in their African possessions, and equally failed. The project was then abandoned as hopeless.

In the session of the legislature of Virginia, in 1816, the subject was again brought forward, and the following resolution was adopted by a large majority.

“Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of colour as had been, or might be emancipated, under the laws of this commonwealth; but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes, equally unpropitious to their success:

“They now avail themselves of a period, when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the government of the United States, in abolishing the African Slave Trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the revolution, zealously sought to exterminate,) to renew this effort, and do therefore,—

“ *Resolve*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the states or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this state, in the congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects.

“ *Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth, until ratified by the legislature.”

Thus the scheme of colonization, which is now so violently denounced, in some of the papers in South Carolina, as a conspiracy against the rights and property of the slave holders, and forms a part of the means whereby the dangerous effervescence in that state has been excited, originated with

the great leading slave state, which possesses more than a third of all the slaves in the five original slave states.

It appears that the idea of a Colonization Society, originated with the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, a man of great humanity and benevolence, who, in February, 1815, wrote a letter to a friend,^{*} in which he deeply deplored the calamitous and degraded state of the free people of colour, and suggested the plan of forming a colony on the coast of Africa, for their reception, as a means of improving their morals and manners, and rescuing them from the debasement under which they labour in this country. He counted largely on the advantages that such a colony would insure to Africa, by the introduction of civilization and christianity.

* Basking Ridge, Feb. 14th, 1815.

"The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labour to execute, plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them: nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated, while they shall continue among us. *Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established?* Could they be sent back to Africa, a threefold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them. We should send to Africa, a population partly civilized and christianized for its benefit. And our blacks themselves, would be put in a better situation. Think much upon this subject, and then please to write me when you have leisure."— *Robert Finley.*

Full of these benevolent views, he repaired to Washington, in December, 1816, and with considerable efforts, assembled a meeting of citizens of influence and respectability, among whom were Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay, John Randolph, of Roanoke, Col. Mercer, Elias B. Caldwell, Francis S. Key, &c. &c., to whom the project of forming a Colonization Society was submitted. Bushrod Washington presided at the meeting. The subject was fully and eloquently discussed, among others by Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph. The latter observed, that—

"If a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands, who would, by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession."

At this meeting, a letter from Thomas Jefferson, dated January 21, 1811, was read, in which he stated his abortive negotiations with the Sierra Leone company, and with the Portuguese government. The following extracts are taken from this letter:

"You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa, an establishment, to which the people of colour of these United States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. *Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure that could be adopted, for gradually drawing off this part of our population* —most advantageous for themselves as well as for us; going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin, the seeds of civilization; which might render their sojournment here a blessing, in the end, to that country. *Indeed, nothing is more to be wished, than that the United States would, themselves, undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*"

A society was formed; Bushrod Washington was appointed president, and Messrs. Crawford, Clay, Rutgers, Howard, Gen. Jackson, Rev. R. Finley, &c. vice presidents. An eloquent memorial to Congress was drawn up, which Mr. Randolph undertook to present to that body.

It may not be amiss to mention here the names of the two persons, who, during the last 8 century, were in the highest degree instrumental in directing the public attention to slavery, and the horrors of the slave trade. Although numbers of persons on each side of the Atlantic, had previously borne strong testimony against both, the pre-eminence in efficiency is due to Granville Sharpe, in England, and Anthony Benezet, in Pennsylvania. The labours of the latter commenced about 1760, and of the former in 1770.

Sharpe's career began with the case of J. Strong, who had been cruelly treated by his master, a planter of the island of Barbadoes, by whom he had been brought to England, and being found useless, partly by disease, and partly by the inhuman treatment he had experienced, was abandoned to perish in the streets of London, or to depend on mendicity for a support. Sharpe, becoming acquainted with his forlorn situation, took him under his protection, and recommended him to the care of his brother William, a respectable physician, by whom he was restored to health. The brutal manner asserted his claim to Strong, as soon as he had recovered his powers of usefulness. The brothers resisted the claim, and protected Strong, for which, a prosecution was commenced against them by the master. The result is not stated in the life of Sharpe, but it is highly probable that the cause of humanity triumphed.

This case, however, and two others, of a similar character, which occurred subsequently, did not settle the question, whether slavery could exist in England, which was brought to issue by the case of *Somerset*, a negro slave, (belonging to a Charles Stewart, a Virginian,) whose liberty was claimed by Sharpe, on the broad ground, that the soil of England could not be polluted by slavery. The case was brought before Lord Mansfield, in the court of king's bench, whose opinion on the subject was so far unsettled, that he declared to the counsel, on the opening of the case—that,

"If it came fairly to the general question, whatever the opinion of the court might be, even if they were all agreed upon one side or the other, the subject was of so general and so extensive a concern, that, from the nature of the question, he should certainly take the opinion of the judges upon it."

The case was argued three times, in January, February, and May 1772, and the decision three times postponed, on account of the doubts of the chief justice. At length, on the 22d of June, he pronounced judgment, which concluded as follows:—

"There is no necessity to refer the question to the judges. Immemorial usage preserves positive law, after the occasion or accident, which gave rise to it, has been forgotten; and tracing the subject to natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law. Upon the whole, we cannot say the cause returned is sufficient by the law: and therefore the man must be discharged."

Anthony Benezet was an indefatigable advocate of the rights of the coloured people, and an ardent enemy of the execrable slave trade, on which he wrote a number of pamphlets, the distribution of which had a powerful effect in producing the efforts that led to the abolition of that traffic. Several persons, belonging to the society of Friends, in this country, had previously laboured in the same cause of humanity, among whom were William Burling, Ralph Sanford, Benjamin Lay, and John Woolman. But their labours, though highly meritorious, were by no means so effectual as those of Benezet, who, however, had the advantage, that he found the public mind rather better prepared by those estimable pioneers, for the reception of his doctrines.

The first emigration of coloured people from the United States to Africa, was conducted by Paul Cuffee, an amiable, benevolent, and liberal coloured man, born at New Bedford, in 1759, of an African father and aboriginal mother. In the year 1815, he sailed from Boston, in a vessel of his own, and took with him nine families, containing thirty-eight persons, of whom only eight paid their expenses. The whole expense of the remaining thirty, amounting to above three thousand dollars, was defrayed by the noble-minded Paul Cuffee. He landed them in Sierra Leone, where they were

kindly received. Had he means, he might, in 1816, have taken 2000 from New England, as nearly the whole were willing to take passage with him.

"Paul Cuffee, by industry and enterprize, guided by an uncommon share of plain sense and practical wisdom, arose from poverty to opulence. He was largely concerned in navigation; and, in many voyages, particularly to Russia, England, Africa, the West Indies, and the Southern states, commanded his own vessel. A man of sterling integrity and active benevolence, of modest and dignified manners, he was known and honoured by persons of the first respectability, in England and the United States."

Philadelphia, April 10, 1832.

LETTER III.

Agents sent to Africa to explore the coast for a suitable situation.—Land purchased.—Conflict with the natives.—Agent seized by them.—Monrovia besieged.—In imminent danger.—Colonists triumph.—Peace.

In November, 1819, the society appointed two agents, the Rev. S. J. Mills and Mr. Ebenezer Burgess, to proceed to the coast of Africa, via England, to make the necessary explorations and inquiries as to a suitable location for a settlement. The object of landing in England, was, to procure letters to the leading men at Sierra Leone, and also to gain such general information respecting the coast of Africa, as might be attainable. They succeeded in both objects, and procured, moreover, recommendations from the court of Copenhagen, to its colonial authorities on the coast. They sailed from the Downs on the 7th of February, 1820, and arrived at Sierra Leone early in March. They visited all the ports from Sierra Leone to Sherboro. At this last place, they found a small colony of coloured people, settled by John Kizel, a South Carolina slave, who had joined the British in the revolutionary war, and at its close was taken to Nova Scotia, from whence he sailed with a number of his countrymen to Africa, where he established this small settlement, which was, at the arrival of the agents, in a prosperous situation. By Kizel and his people, the agents were kindly and hospitably received. After gaining all the information necessary for their purpose, they sailed from the coast in May. Mr. Burgess arrived in the United States in the following month. Mr. Mills died on the passage.

On the 2d of March, 1807, an act was passed by the Congress of the United States, prohibiting the slave trade, from and after the 1st of January, 1808, under heavy penalties. Its chief features were,

I. Any person engaged in fitting out a vessel for that trade, was liable to a penalty of 20,000 dollars.

II. Any person taking on board a vessel on the coast of Africa, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, was subject to a penalty of 5000 dollars.

III. All vessels of the United States, found at sea by our cruisers, having been engaged in the slave trade, were to be forfeited, with all their tackle; the captain or master to be tried, and, if found guilty, to be subject to a fine of \$10,000, and to imprisonment for not more than ten, nor less than five years.

This act contained a clause, whereby negroes brought into the United States, in consequence of its provisions, were to be "subject to any regulations, not contravening the provisions of the act, which the legislatures of the several states or territories might thereafter make, for disposing of such negroes."

By an act passed by the legislature of Georgia, on the 18th of December, 1817, all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour brought into the state, in pursuance of the above act of Congress, were directed to be claimed by a person to be appointed by the governor, taken to Milledgeville, and there sold, after sixty days notice in a public gazette.

It is obvious that the law of Congress, abolishing the slave trade, would be a solemn mockery, unless an asylum were provided for the captured negroes. If landed in Georgia, or any other of the slave-holding states, they would be sold as slaves, and in that case, the only effect of the law of congress would be, to change the location of the victims from the Havanna or Rio de Janeiro, to Augusta, or Savannah, or Milledgeville. And the nonslave holding states would never consent to be burdened with negroes who could not speak their language, nor be able, for a long time, to earn a support, and who would therefore become paupers.

The law of Georgia, however, contained a clause which authorised and required the governor to deliver to the Colonization Society, all captured negroes, landed in the state, provided the society paid all the expenses incurred by the state, since their capture and condemnation.

A slaver, containing thirty-eight negroes, was captured by one of our government vessels, and brought into Georgia. The negroes were advertised for sale, on the 3d of May, 1819, at Milledgeville, in pursuance of the above act. The Colonization Society, then in its infancy, availed itself of the clause referred to—paid the expenses incurred by the state, and rescued the victims of piratical cupidity from a perpetual slavery.

Cases of this kind which had previously occurred, drew the attention of congress to the necessity of providing an asylum for the captured negroes; and accordingly, an act was passed on the 3d of

March, 1819, whereby the president was “authorized to make such regulations and arrangements as he might deem expedient, for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as might [in this manner,] be brought within their jurisdiction; and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents, for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade, by commanders of the United States' armed vessels.”

It was obvious that the objects of the government could be better accomplished in conjunction with the Colonization Society, than separately. Accordingly, in the year 1820, the *Elizabeth* was chartered, and took out to the coast two agents of the government, one from the Society, and about eighty emigrants. The latter were to be employed at the expense of the government, in preparing accommodations for the reception of recaptured negroes.

They were, in the outset, extremely unfortunate. They found it impossible to obtain a suitable place, and “were compelled, by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a temporary establishment in the low, unhealthy island of Sherboro.” Here they were detained some time, endeavouring to purchase land—and were attacked by fatal diseases, which carried off the three agents, and twenty of the colonists.

The colony was in a lamentable state, in the spring of 1821. Great confusion and want of subordination prevailed, in consequence of the death of the agents. At that time, four new ones arrived, Messrs. Andrews, Wiltberger, Winn, and Bacon; the 10 two first on the part of the Society, and the others on that of the United States. They brought out twenty-eight emigrants—and, from the difficulties that had occurred in procuring land, they proceeded with the old and new hands to the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. One of the agents, Mr. Bacon, being taken sick, returned to the United States. Mr. Andrews died in August, and Mr. Winn in September.

This was a most appalling state of things, and would have discouraged ordinary men from a prosecution of the scheme. Fortunately, such timid counsels did not prevail. The Society determined to persevere, trusting that more experience, and the choice of a more salubrious situation, would guard against a repetition of those disasters.

A new agent, Dr. Ayres, was appointed, who, with Lieutenant Stockton, on the part of the United States, sailed in November, 1821, and arrived on the coast of Africa in December. On a careful examination of the coast, they purchased the country called Montserado, where the colony is now

settled. The price agreed upon, was three hundred dollars, payable in powder and ball, fire-arms, tobacco, clothing, &c.

The Africans who had been landed at Sierra Leone, were now sent for, and affairs wore a promising aspect, when an untoward circumstance occurred, which threatened a total failure of the scheme.

A small slave vessel, prize to an English schooner, with thirty recaptured slaves on board, and bound for Sierra Leone, put in for water at Perseverance island, part of the purchased territory, where the colonists were stationed. Having unfortunately parted her cable, she drifted on shore, where she was wrecked. The custom of the coast appropriates to the petty chief on whose lands a wreck takes place, the vessel and her entire contents. King George, on whose territory the accident happened, sent his people to take possession. They were resisted by the captain and crew, and were discomfited. While the natives were preparing to renew the attack, the captain sent to the agent for assistance, which was readily granted. A boat was instantly manned, and sent to his relief, and a brass field piece on the island brought to bear on the assailants, who were accordingly routed, with the loss of two killed and several wounded. The crew and slaves were brought in safety to land, but the vessel went to pieces, and most of the stores and property was lost.

This exasperated the natives, not merely by the loss of their plunder and their men, but by the prospect it held out of similar interferences in future. They anticipated the total interruption of the slave trade, which was their principal dependence for procuring supplies of whatever they might want. They therefore determined to extirpate the colony, while in its feeble and defenceless state.

Only part of the goods had been delivered, and the natives refused to receive the remainder, insisting on returning what they had received. This, of course, the agent refused, and they had recourse to a stratagem to accomplish their purpose. They invited him to an amicable conference, and as soon as they had him in their power, made him a prisoner, and detained him until he consented to take the articles back. Then they insisted on the colonists withdrawing from the settlement altogether. Pleading the difficulty of removal, for want of a place to which to retire, he was permitted to remain till he could make a purchase of land. Meanwhile, he made an appeal to Boatswain, one of the native kings, who enjoyed a sort of supremacy among them, and who, on hearing the respective allegations, gave an award in favour of the colonists, that the bargain had been fair on both sides; that there was no ground for rescinding it; and therefore, that the natives should receive the stipulated goods, and relinquish the purchased territory. With this judgment his perfidious regal brethren were forced to comply, as he threatened them with vengeance, if they proved refractory.

Notwithstanding this favourable decision of the dangerous controversy, the colony was at the lowest ebb at that period. It had to dread the vengeance of its neighbours, on the departure of Boatswain, whose territories were considerably remote, and before whose return, for their defence, they might be crushed by the overwhelming numbers of their enemies. And, unfortunately, through the unskilfulness of the colonial engineer, the thatch of the store house, wherein were contained the provisions, arms, ammunition, merchandize, and other public property of the colony, had taken fire, in their conflict in the defence of the English prize ship, and the house and nearly all its contents, amounting in value to about three thousand dollars, assorted for the settlement, and all of the first necessity, were consumed. The powder, a few casks of provisions, and a scanty supply of other stores, were with difficulty, rescued from the flames, by the exertions of the colonists.

“The houses were yet destitute of roofs, for which the materials were to be sought for, in the almost impenetrable swamps of the country. The rainy season had already commenced. The island (Perseverance,) if much longer occupied by the colonists, must prove the grave of many. Sickness was beginning to be prevalent, and the agents were among the sufferers. The store of provisions was scanty, and all other stores nearly exhausted.”

In this gloomy state of affairs, the agents, after a long and serious deliberation, had deemed it advisable to reimbark the colonists, their provisions, stores, and all other property, and proceed to Sierra Leone. The proposal was made to the settlers, but they heroically 11 rejected it, and determined to remain, in the hope of a melioration of their affairs.

At this eventful period, to cheer the hopes and to revive the courage of the settlers, a vessel arrived from Baltimore, with a number of recaptured slaves, and thirty-seven free coloured people, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Ashmun; who, on landing, found, to his great surprise, that the agents had returned to America, having left the colony under the care of a coloured man.

The natives were brooding over, not only their discomfiture in the attack on the English vessel, but on the very unwelcome decision of Boatswain, of the controversy about the soil. As soon as he had retired, they began to make preparations for an attack, in order to extirpate such formidable neighbours, before they had gained sufficient strength to set them at defiance. The colonists were in a very indifferent state to meet the attack. “Of the native Americans, twenty-seven, when not sick, were able to bear arms, but were wholly untrained to their use, and capable, in their present undisciplined state, of making but a very feeble defence. There were forty muskets in store, which, with repairing, were capable of being rendered serviceable. Of one brass, and five iron guns attached to the settlement, the former only was fit for service, and four of the latter required carriages. Some of them had been nearly buried in the mud on the opposite side of the river. Not a good abattis or

other fencework, had been completed. There was no fixed ammunition; nor, without great difficulty and delay, was it possible to load the only gun which was provided with a sufficient carriage."

The colonists, by means of "a spy in the enemy's camp," had information of all their plans of attack, and made all the preparation in their power to repel them. But their number was small, having only thirty-five effective men. Their defences were incomplete, and the most alarming feature in their affairs was, that the agent, the Rev. Mr. Ashmun, a man of the most extraordinary zeal, ardour, and energy, was dangerously ill, confined frequently to his bed, and at times, rather delirious, and wholly unable to attend to his duties. "From the middle of September till the first week in November, he continued in an extremely low and dangerous state; so entirely debilitated in body and mind, as to be nearly incapable of motion, and insensible to every thing, but the consciousness of suffering."

The attack was made on the 8th of November, 1822, by a force of above eight hundred men. In consequence of the sickness of the agent, and his inability to enforce his orders personally, one pass had been neglected to be properly defended. There, the enemy found an entrance, and captured one of the guns; which, very fortunately, they knew not how to manage. At this awful crisis, when total destruction seemed inevitable, the colonists were saved by the want of discipline of the assailants. They had captured four houses, and betook themselves to plunder them, whereby they got into confusion, and afforded the colonists time to rally. Had the enemy availed themselves of their first success, resistance, on the part of the besieged, would have been in vain. But the latter having recovered from their surprise, recaptured the gun, and turned it on the enemy, among whom, as they were wedged in a solid mass, it made a horrible havoc. They lost sixty or eighty men, and fled in utter confusion. The loss of the colonists was nearly in the same proportion to their numbers. They had three men and one woman killed; two men and two women severely wounded; and four children captured.

Although thus completely discomfited, the natives did not abandon their design of exterminating the colony. They determined to renew the attack with additional forces, collecting auxiliaries from as many of the neighbouring tribes as they could induce to unite with them. The colonists, on their side, were equally on the alert, and made incredible exertions to prepare for repelling the assailants. They reduced the extent of their works, and thus rendered them more defensible than they had been on the former attack. But the number of effective men was less, being only thirty.

The attack was made on the 30th of November, and incomparably better concerted than the former one. It took place almost simultaneously on three sides of the fortifications. The assailants displayed a tact and skill that would have done credit to more experienced warriors. But they were received with that bravery and determination which the danger of total destruction, in case of defeat, was calculated to inspire, and were finally defeated with severe loss. The garrison had one man killed,

and two badly wounded. The skill and talent, and energy of Mr. Ashmun, mainly secured the triumph. He received three bullets through his clothes, but was not wounded.

The action continued an hour and a half, and was renewed three times, with the utmost desperation.

"There was, at this time, little surgical knowledge, less skill, and absolutely no instruments—not a lancet nor probe in the settlement. Its little dispensary had no lack of James's powders, and stores of febrifuges; but for medicating broken bones, and extracting fragments of pot metal and copper ship bolts from the shattered limbs of the colonists, there had been no provision whatever. A dull penknife and a common razor were substituted in the place of the first, 12 and a priming iron made to answer the purpose of the last."

His Britannic majesty's schooner *Driver*, fortunately arrived in the harbour at this time, and the commander kindly offered his services as mediator, which were gladly accepted by both parties, as they were equally tired of "the unprofitable contest." The native princes signed an engagement "to observe an unlimited truce with the colony, and submit all their differences to the arbitration of the governor of Sierra Leone."

Since that period the colonists have not been molested. They are the objects of respect and veneration, and their friendship is sought after by all the petty kings in their neighbourhood.

A regular form of government was adopted in 1824, which produced the happiest effects on the morals and manners of the colonists. In truth, this period may be stated as almost the commencement of the establishment—the four preceding years having been the reign of anarchy and confusion.

Philadelphia, April 12, 1832.

LETTER IV.

Increase of the Coloured population.

The dangers arising from the great increase of a caste in the nation, who are by immemorial custom or prejudice, the eradication of which can scarcely be hoped for, cut off from all chance of amalgamation with their fellow beings of a different colour, are yearly augmenting by the natural horror of slavery, which is constantly gaining strength in the breasts of the slaves; by the unceasing discussions in our papers, especially by those that recently took place in the legislature of Virginia; and by the inflammatory publications, which are clandestinely spread among the slaves, in spite of the vigilance and denunciations of their masters. Circumstances, too, are occasionally occurring,

which tend to fan the flame; among which may be reckoned, the general manumission of the slaves in the royal colonies of Great Britain, and the steady persevering efforts, in and out of parliament in that kingdom, to procure a total emancipation in all the British colonies.

In the discussion of this subject, it is only necessary to cast a furtive glance at the scenes in St. Domingo, and more recently in Jamaica, and the various insurrections planned and attempted in this country, to be satisfied, that the subject has not hitherto attracted that consideration in general, to which it is entitled by its great magnitude and importance. Although there is, we hope and trust, no great danger of such insurrectionary attempts proving successful, yet they may, and in all probability will, produce repetitions of the horrible scenes which took place at Southampton, at which humanity shudders.

On this view of the subject, it could scarcely have been anticipated, that the scheme proposed by the colonization Society, of removing such of the free people of colour as are disposed to emigrate to the land of their fathers, and such slaves as are emancipated, on condition of removal to that land, and affording strong inducement to emancipation, of whose benign effects, we have recently seen so many instances, should have met with any opposition. It is, nevertheless, certain, that it has been violently opposed in two quarters, where it might have rationally been supposed likely to meet with most favour, in South Carolina, and among some of the free blacks, of whom, the latter were formerly decidedly in favour of the views of the Society.

We shall, in the sequel, consider how far the actual very depressed situation and future prospects of the free coloured people, warrant their opposition to a scheme calculated to confer on them all the advantages and blessings of freedom and independence, from so many of which they are debarred in this country. At present, we shall confine ourselves to the case of South Carolina. That state is by far more particularly interested in the success of the scheme than any other, except perhaps Louisiana; as these are the only two states in which the slave population exceeds that of the whites.

Population of South Carolina.

Whites Slaves. In 1790 131,181 1830 257,878 1860 315,565

Thus it appears, that while the slaves very nearly trebled their numbers in forty years, the whites did not quite double theirs.

The relative situation of the white and coloured population east of the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, places this subject in a striking point of view. It appears that the latter have gained on the former in forty years, 106,176, being more than a fourth part of the number of whites at present in that part of the country. To render this case more remarkable, it is to be observed, that during this period, the

shipment of slaves from that portion of Virginia to the more southern states, has been carried to an enormous extent.

Population East of the Blue Ridge.

Total. Majority. Whites. Blacks. Whites. Blacks. In 1790 314,523 289,425 25,008 1800 336,289 339,293 3,004 1810 338,553 386,942 48,389 1820 347,872 413,928 65,055 1830 375,935 457,013 81,078

The following table exhibits the increase of the free coloured people in the United 13 States, from the year 1790, to the present time.

In 1790 59,481

1800 110,073

1810 186,466

In 1820 233,530

1830 319,467

A multiplication of nearly six fold in forty years, and above 33 per ct. in the last 10 years.

Number of slaves at the different periods of taking the census.

1790 697,697

1800 896,849

1810 1,191,364

1820 1,538,128

1830 2,011,320

The disparity of increase of the white and coloured population in the five original slave states, deserves attention.

1790. Whites. Slaves. Maryland 208,650 103,036 Virginia 442,127 292,627 North Carolina 288,204 100,572 South Carolina 130,178 107,094 Georgia 52,886 29,264 1,122,045 632,593
1830. Whites. Slaves. Maryland 291,093 102,878 Virginia 694,439 469,724 North Carolina

472,433 246,462 South Carolina 257,878 315,665 Georgia 296,614 217,407 2,012,457
1,352,136

It thus appears, that the whites, in forty years, increased only about eighty per cent., while the slaves increased one hundred and twelve. In North Carolina, the whites increased but sixty-four per cent., while the slaves increased one hundred and forty-five. The number of slaves in Maryland has slightly decreased, partly by manumissions, and partly by the shipment of slaves to the more southern states, both of which have taken place in that state, on a large scale. The free coloured population in 1790, was only 8,042; whereas, in 1830, it was 52,942.

Table of the number of coloured people, free and slaves, in the United States, at the various periods of taking the census, together with a statement of the numbers that will be in the country every decennial census, till 1880, at the rate of increase that took place between 1820 and 1830, viz. 35 per cent.

1790 757,178

1800 1,006,922

1810 1,377,819

1820 1,771,558

1830 2,330,187

1840 3,145,552

1850 4,246,494

1860 5,732,768

1870 7,739,236

1880 10,446,968

What fearful presages arise in the mind, when we consider that in 1880, at the present rate of increase, the population of the U. S., then above 54,000,000, will embrace more than 10,000,000 of a distinct race, between whom and the majority, cordiality can scarcely be expected! What an admonitory lesson in favour of colonization!

Philadelphia, April 14, 1832.

LETTER V.

Expense of Passage.

It remains to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the expense of emigration.

The passage is, at present, calculated at about twenty dollars, and the expense for the maintenance of each emigrant for six months, at about 15 dollars; making all together, 35 dollars.

But children from two to twelve years of age, are taken at half price, and below two years, free of charge; allowing for a due proportion of children, thirty dollars would be a tolerably fair estimate for passage and support.

Moreover, when the situation of the colony becomes better known, and the prejudices which have been industriously created against it, are done away, many emigrants will defray their own expenses; and many humane and charitable masters will, as has taken place already, pay the passage of their manumitted slaves.

Again, for a long time to come, there will be, as there is at present, a great demand in the colony for labourers; and able-bodied men will, immediately on landing, be able to procure employment. In a former report it was stated, that of the whole number of emigrants that arrived in one vessel, only seven were unemployed in twenty days. Considering all these circumstances, we might be authorized to assume an average of twenty dollars for each; but if we err at all, it is better to err on the safe side, and assume twenty-five.

It appears that the annual increase is a little above $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In the first edition we erroneously assumed $3\frac{1}{2}$.

Two and a half per cent. on the present number of coloured people in the United States, probably 2,400,000, amounts to 60,000 annually. Supposing the object to be the prevention of any increase, and that therefore provision would have to be made for the conveyance of 60,000 annually, at 25 dollars each, the expense would be \$1,500,000.

This sum is large, and would require considerable sacrifices. But was any grand object ever attained without great sacrifices? We were, when in a comparatively feeble state, able to raise \$100,000,000 in a year and a half, for the support of a war. Our revenue has been, for years, from 20 to \$25,000,000,

and the national debt is nearly paid off. The direct tax of the state of Pennsylvania in the year 1815, was \$730,968, and that of Virginia. \$738,036, which were paid without any oppression of the citizens of either. And surely, if reason and common sense have fair play, it will not be difficult to procure an amendment of the constitution, (if such an amendment be necessary, which is doubted by many of our citizens) by three-fourths of the states, allowing the appropriation C 14 of a sum necessary for the purpose; and never did a nation make a more useful appropriation.

There are thirteen non-slaveholding states. There can be no doubt that these would ratify such an amendment; and from the prevalence of the conviction in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, of the dangers that menace the country from this source, their immediate concurrence might be calculated on; and the consent of two more would probably be had in a year or two, as the subject came to be more fully discussed, and of consequence, better understood.

Philadelphia, April 15, 1832.

LETTER VI.

Manumissions, with a view of sending the emancipated slaves to Liberia.

Among the most promising and encouraging circumstances attending the career of this society, are the numerous manumissions that have taken place in almost all the slave states, on the express condition of the freed people being sent to Liberia.

These manumissions have occurred on a scale that the most sanguine friends of the scheme could not have anticipated. Entire families have been blest with their freedom, from the most pure motives, a conviction of the immorality and injustice of slavery—and in many cases ample provision has been made for the expense of their passage, and in some, for their support in Liberia. They have been thus released from the debasement and degradation of slavery, and sent to the land of their fathers, to partake of all the happiness that freedom and the certainty of enjoying all the fruits of their labour, can inspire.

It would be endless to enumerate the cases of this kind that have occurred. Some of them must be recorded, that the acts and the names of the parties, where known, may have the applause to which they are entitled, and, what is of more consequence, that they may serve as stimuli to others, to follow the noble example.

A lady, near Charlestown, Va. liberated all her slaves, ten in number, to be sent to Liberia; and moreover purchased two, whose families were among her slaves. For the one she gave \$450, and for the other \$350.

The late Wm. Fitzhugh, bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, after a certain fixed period, and ordered that their expenses should be paid to whatsoever place they should think proper to go. And, "as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American colony on the coast of Africa, where," adds the will, "I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire not only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars be paid to each one so emigrating, on his or her arrival in Africa."

David Shriver, of Frederick co. Maryland, ordered by his will, that all his slaves, thirty in number, should be emancipated, and that proper provision should be made for the comfortable support of the infirm and aged, and for the instruction of the young in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in some art or trade, by which they might acquire the means of support.

Col. Smith, an old revolutionary officer, of Sussex county, Va. ordered in his will, that all his slaves, seventy or eighty in number, should be emancipated; and bequeathed above \$5000 to defray the expense of transporting them to Liberia.

Patsey Morris, of Louisa co., Va. directed by will, that all her slaves, sixteen in number, should be emancipated, and left \$500 to fit them out, and defray the expense of their passage.

The schooner Randolph, which sailed from Georgetown, S. C., had on board 26 slaves, liberated by a benevolent individual near Cheraw.

Of 105 emigrants, who sailed in the brig Doris, from Baltimore and Norfolk, 62 were emancipated on condition of being conveyed to Liberia.

Sampson David, late a member of the legislature of Tennessee, provided by will, that all his slaves, 22 in number, who are mostly young, should be liberated in 1840, or sooner, at his wife's decease, if she died before that period.

Herbert B. Elder, of Petersburg, Va. bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, twenty in number, with directions that they should be conveyed to Liberia, by the first opportunity.

A gentleman in Georgia, has recently left 49 slaves free, on condition of their removal to Liberia.

Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, of Bourbon co. Va., provided by will for the emancipation of her slaves, about forty in number.

David Patterson, of Orange co. N. C., freed eleven slaves, to be sent to Liberia.

Rev. Fletcher Andrew, gave freedom to twenty, who constituted most of his property, for the same purpose.

Nathaniel Crenshaw, near Richmond, liberated sixty slaves, with a view to have them sent to Liberia.

Rev. Robert Cox, Suffolk co. Va., provided by his will for the emancipation of all his slaves, upwards of thirty, and left several hundred dollars to pay their passage to Liberia.

Joseph Leonard Smith, of Frederic co. Md., liberated twelve slaves, who sailed from Baltimore for Liberia.

Of 107 coloured persons who sailed in the Carolinian, from Norfolk for Liberia, 45 were emancipated on condition of being sent there.

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In the brig Criterion, which sailed from Norfolk for Liberia, on the 2d August 1831, there were forty-six persons who had been liberated, on condition of proceeding to Liberia; 18 by Mrs. Greenfield, near Natchez; 8 by Mr. Williams, of Elizabeth city, N. C.; 7 by Gen. Jacocks, of Perquimans, Ohio; 4 by Thomas Davis, Montgomery co. Miss.; 2 by two other individuals; and 5 by some of the Quakers in North Carolina. Of those liberated slaves, 2 only were above 40 years of age, 31 were under 35, and 22 under 20.

A gentleman in N. C. last year, gave freedom to all his slaves, 14 in number, and provided 20 dollars each, to pay their passage to Liberia.

Mrs. J. of Mercer co. Kentucky, and her two sons, one a clergyman, and the other a physician, lately offered the Colonization Society sixty slaves, to be conveyed to Liberia.

Henry Robertson, of Hampton, Va., bequeathed their freedom to seven slaves, and fifty dollars to each, to aid in their removal to Liberia.

William Fletcher, of Perquimans, N. C., ordered by will, that his slaves, twelve in number, should be hired out for a year after his death, to earn wherewith to pay for their conveyance to Liberia.

A gentleman in Kentucky, lately wrote to the secretary of the Society, "I will willingly give up twelve or fifteen of my coloured people at this time; and so on gradually, till the whole, about sixty, are given up, if means for their passage can be afforded."

On board the Harriet, from Norfolk, of one hundred and sixty emigrants, between forty and fifty had been slaves, emancipated on condition of being sent to Africa.

In addition to these instances, several others might be added, particularly that of Richard Bibb, Esq. of Kentucky, who proposes to send sixty slaves to Liberia—two gentlemen in Missouri, who desire to send eleven slaves—a lady in Kentucky offers 40—the Rev. John C. Burrell, of Alabama, intends preparing all his slaves for colonization—the Rev. William L. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, manumitted 11 slaves, who sailed a few weeks ago from New Orleans.

In this work of benevolence, the society of Friends, as in so many other cases, have nobly distinguished themselves, and assumed a prominent attitude. They have, in North Carolina, liberated no less than 652 slaves, whom they had under their care, besides, as says my authority, an unknown number of children, husbands and wives, connected with them by consanguinity, and of whom, part went to Canada, part to Liberia, part to Hayti, and a portion to Ohio. In the performance of these acts of benevolence, they expended \$12,759. They had remaining under their care, in December 1830, 402 slaves, for whom similar arrangements were to be made.

It holds out every encouragement to the Colonization Society, that the applications for the transportation of free negroes, and slaves proposed to be emancipated on condition of removal to Liberia, far exceed its means. There are, in North Carolina and the adjacent states, from three to four thousand of both descriptions, ready to embark, were the Society in a situation to send them away.

Philadelphia, April 17, 1832.

LETTER VII.

Progress of Liberia.—Inauspicious commencement in Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina.

A BRIEF comparison of the progress made in Liberia, with the colonization of Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina, will place the first on high ground, and dispel the doubts of the most sceptical, as to the ultimate success of this magnificent and benignant undertaking, if it receive a due degree of support. Let it be observed, that the society never made any calculation on being able to accomplish the mighty object of their enterprise by private resources alone. That would have been extravagant folly. The success must, they well knew, ultimately depend on the patronage of

the general and state governments, united. This patronage they fondly hope to obtain, as soon as the prejudices that have been created against this enterprise, have been dissipated. The society has done its duty in proving the practicability of the scheme, and will steadily continue its exertions on a scale proportioned to the means placed at its disposal. Further than this it never promised.

The first expedition to Liberia, took place in 1820; but the colonists, as has been already stated, met with so many difficulties and embarrassments at the commencement, that it was not until the year 1824, that order or good government was established. All that has been accomplished worth notice has, therefore, taken place within the last eight years. What, then, is the state of the case?

There are now above 2000 souls settled, contented, happy, and prosperous; enjoying all the apparatus of a regular government; an improving agriculture; a prosperous and increasing commerce; settlements rapidly extending; a large territory, possessed of extraordinary advantages of soil, climate, and situation for commerce, fairly and honourably purchased, about one hundred and fifty 16 miles on the coast, and extending into the interior of the country thirty or forty miles; several slave factories destroyed, and the slaves liberated; the slave trade abolished for about 40 miles above and below the colony; the circumjacent aboriginals tranquilized, regarding the settlers with reverence, and looking up to them for protection from the ferocious violence of those *hostes humani generis*, the slave traders; the attacks of a host of confederated petty kings repelled in 1822, in the very infancy of the colony, and in its most feeble state; education carefully attended to; the children of the natives sent in for instruction to the schools of the colonists; morals and religion flourishing. In a word, the most sanguine expectations of the founders of the colony more than realized, at this very early stage of its existence. It may be doubted whether any colony ever throve more, and few, so completely, in so short a space of time.

One feature in this colony most honourably distinguishes it from almost every other colony, established in ancient or modern times. Of all other colonies, the founders were impelled by a desire of conquest; a thirst of aggrandizement, or of the acquisition of wealth. With no such views, were the founders of Liberia actuated. Pure benevolence alone, inspired the illustrious men, the Finleys, the Thorntons, the Washingtons, the Mercers, the Ashmuns, the Caldwelles, the Meades, the Gurleys, who projected or aided in the formation of the society. The benefit of the colonists, and the peace and happiness of this country, were the objects. For the attainment of those important objects, they devoted their time, and their substance, and have patiently endured the scoffs, and ridicule, and scorn, to which their grand enterprise, in common with all other great and novel undertakings, was subjected.

Let us now cast an eye on the early results of the attempts at the colonization of Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina.

The pilgrims who commenced the settlement of Massachusetts, landed in December, 1620, to the number of 120; and so ill were they provided with provisions and clothing, and so inclement was the season, that about fifty of them perished in the course of the winter and the ensuing spring.^{*} And, although they received frequent reinforcements, there remained but three hundred in the year 1630, one half of the whole number having perished in the severe winter of 1629.[†]

^{*} Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. I. page 49.

[†] Idem, page 102.

What a striking contrast Liberia exhibits! How exhilarating and encouraging to its friends, and how useful a lesson does it hold out to its enemies, to cease their opposition!

But inauspicious as the incipient operations were in Massachusetts, the result was far worse for 21 years in Virginia. The first attempt at a settlement took place in 1585, and was succeeded for years by several numerous reinforcements, which, in a great measure, fell victims to their own irregularities, or to the hostile attacks of the Indians, whom those irregularities provoked. In 1610, the heroic Smith, the father of the colony, brought out a strong reinforcement, and returned home for further supplies of men, provisions, arms, and ammunition, leaving the colony, as he supposed, secure against any contingency, however adverse, whether from the severity of the weather, or the assaults of the Indians. But all his calculations were miserably defeated by the worthlessness, extreme insubordination, and licentiousness of the colonists.

"Smith left the colony furnished with three ships, good fortifications, twenty-five pieces of cannon, arms, ammunition, apparel, commodities for trading, and tools for all kinds of labour. At James' Town there were nearly sixty houses. The settlers had begun to plant, and to fortify at five or six other places. The number of inhabitants was nearly five hundred. They had just gathered in their Indian harvest, and, besides, had considerable provision in their stores. They had between five and six hundred hogs, an equal number of fowls, some goats, and some sheep. They had also boats, nets, and good accommodations for fishing. But such was the sedition, idleness, and dissipation of this mad people, that they were soon reduced to the most miserable circumstances. No sooner was Captain Smith gone, than the savages, provoked by their dissolute practices, and encouraged by their want of government, revolted, hunted and slew them from place to place. Nansemond, the plantation at the falls, and all the out-settlements were abandoned. In a short time, nearly forty

of the company were cut off by the enemy. Their time and provisions were consumed in riot; their utensils were stolen or destroyed; their hogs, sheep, and fowls killed and carried off by the Indians. The sword without, and famine and sickness within, soon made among them surprising destruction. Within the term of six months, of their whole number, sixty only survived These were mostly poor, famishing wretches, subsisting chiefly on herbs, acorns, and berries. Such was the famine, that they fed on the skins of their dead horses; nay, they boiled and ate the flesh of the dead. Indeed, they were reduced to such extremity, that had they not been relieved, the whole colony, in eight or ten days, would have been extinct. Such are the dire effects of idleness, faction, and want of proper subordination.”*

* Holmes's Annals, Vol. I. page 60.

All the difficulties and disasters that have occurred in Liberia, from the commencement of the settlement till the present time, fall far short of a tithe of the calamities which befel the settlers in Virginia in six months.

We have not as many details of the disasters in North Carolina. Williamson, its historian, is very brief on the subject; but he tells enough to prove that similar disorders, and similar disasters took place there. The 17 colony was commenced in 1668; and in 1694, “the list of taxables was only 787, being little more than half the number that were there in 1677,” seventeen years before. “Such,” says the writer, “were the baneful effects of rapine, anarchy, and idleness.”*

* Williamson s History of North Carolina, Vol. I. page 144.

Philadelphia, April 18, 1832.

LETTER VIII.

Legislative and ecclesiastical proceedings in favour of Colonization, and of the Society.—Connecticut, New Jersey, Kentucky, Delaware, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Maryland, &c.—Synod of Utica.—General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.—Methodist E. Conference, &c. &c.

The Colonization Society has, by perseverance, and by the intrinsic merit of its views, at length “won golden opinions” from the greater part of the nation. The legislatures of fourteen states, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, have passed resolutions distinctly recommending the scheme of colonizing the free coloured population, and most of them approving of the objects of the Society. Eleven of those states have instructed their senators, and requested

their representatives in Congress, to promote, in the general government, measures for removing such free persons of colour as are desirous of emigrating to Africa. And “nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States have, by resolutions, fully expressed their opinion, that the Society merits the consideration and favour of the whole Christian community, and earnestly recommend it to their patronage.” It would extend this letter too far, to enumerate the various testimonials of individuals and public bodies in this country and in Europe, in favour of the Society. From Great Britain, they have been of the most flattering character, accompanied by liberal donations. The Society of Friends, in England, sent £2000 sterling to their brethren in North Carolina, to aid the cause of emigration. I annex some specimens:

LEGISLATURES.

Resolution of the Legislature of Tennessee, 1818.

“Resolved, by the general assembly of the state of Tennessee, That the senators in congress from this state be, and they are hereby requested and instructed; and that the representatives be, and they are hereby requested, to give to the government of the United States any aid in their power, in devising and carrying into effect a plan which may have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country, the free people of colour who are within the limits of the United States, or within the limits of any of their territories.”

Resolution of the Legislature of Maryland, 1819.

“Resolved unanimously, That the governor be requested to communicate to the President of the United States, and to our senators and representatives in Congress, the opinion of the general assembly, that a wise and provident policy suggests the expediency, on the part of our national government, of procuring through negotiation, by cession or purchase, a tract of country on the western coast of Africa, for the colonization of the free people of colour of the United States.”

Resolve of the Legislature of Connecticut, 1824.

“Resolved, That the existence of slavery in the United States is a great national evil, and that the people and the States ought to participate in the burdens and duties of removing it, by all just and prudent measures, which may be adopted *with a regard to their internal peace and mutual harmony*: and that a system of colonization, under the patronage of the general government, may reasonably be deemed conducive to so desirable an object.”

Resolve of the Legislature of New Jersey, 1825.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this legislature, a system of foreign colonization, with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would, in due time, effect the entire emancipation of slaves in this country, and furnish an asylum for the free blacks, *without any violation of the national compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals*; and that such a system should be predicted upon the principle, that the evil of slavery is a national one, and *that the people and the States of this union, ought mutually to participate in the duties and burdens of removing it.*"

Of the Legislature of Delaware.

"Resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the state of Delaware, in general assembly met, That it is requisite for our prosperity, and, what is of more important concern, essential to our safety, that measures should be taken, for the removal from this country, of the free negroes and mulattoes.

"Resolved, That this general assembly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and consider that those objects deserve public support, and that they ought to be fostered and encouraged by the national government, and with the national funds."

Resolve of the Legislature of Kentucky, 1827.

"Resolved by the general assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky, That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the coast of Africa, for the free people of colour of the United States; and that the senators and representatives in Congress from this state be, and they are hereby requested, to use their efforts to facilitate the removal of such free persons of colour as may desire to emigrate from the United States to the colony in Africa, and to insure to them the protection and patronage of the general government, so far as shall be deemed consistent with the safety and interest of the United States."

Resolution of the Senate of Pennsylvania, 1829.

"Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, That in the opinion of this general assembly, the American Colonization Society eminently demands the support of the national government, and that our senators be directed, and that the representatives in congress be requested to aid the same by all proper and constitutional means."

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Resolution of the State of Indiana, 1829.

"Be it resolved by the general assembly of the state of Indiana, That our senators and representatives in congress be, and they are hereby requested, in the name of the state of Indiana, to solicit the assistance of the general government to aid the laudable designs of the Colonization Society, in such manner as Congress, in its wisdom, may deem expedient."

General Assembly of the State of Ohio.

"Resolved by the general assembly of the state of of Ohio, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives be requested, to use their efforts to induce the government of the United States to aid the American Colonization Society, in effecting the object of their institution, which is so eminently calculated to advance the honour and interest of our common country."

Louisiana Legislature.

A resolution, recently presented to this body, proposing the appointment of a joint committee, to take into consideration, the expediency of promoting the emigration of free people of colour from that state to Liberia, was adopted by a vote of twenty-two against eleven.

Resolution of the Legislature of Massachusetts.

"Resolved, That the legislature of Massachusetts view with great interest, the efforts made by the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the coast of Africa for the free people of colour of the United States; and that in the opinion of this legislature, it is a subject eminently deserving the attention and aid of congress, so far as shall be consistent with the powers of Congress, the rights of the several states of the union, and the rights of the individuals who are the objects of those efforts."

Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of New York, in the Senate, on the 13 th of April, 1832.

"Mr. Tallmadge, from the select committee, to which was referred the memorials of the State Colonization Society, and of Wm. A. Duer and others of the city of New York, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the senate applaud the motives, and approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and have full confidence in the fidelity, discretion, and ability of its executive officers.

"Resolved, That as the said society proposes to remove or mitigate existing evils, and prevent or diminish apprehended dangers, it deserves the confidence and encouragement of the American people.

"Resolved, That the senate commend the said society to the consideration and patronage of the citizens of this state.

"Resolved, That these resolutions be transmitted to the honourable the assembly for their consideration."

The resolutions passed the house of assembly with hardly a dissenting voice.

ECCLESIASTICAL BODIES.

Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia, June, 1818.

"We recommend to all our people to patronize and encourage the Society lately formed for colonizing in Africa, the land of their ancestors, the people of colour in our country. We hope that much good may result from the plans and efforts of this society. And while we exceedingly rejoice to have witnessed its origin and organization among the HOLDERS OF SLAVES, as giving an unequivocal pledge of their desire to liberate themselves and their country from the calamity of slavery, we hope that those portions of the American union, whose inhabitants are, by a gracious Providence, more favourably circumstanced, will cordially, and liberally, and earnestly co-operate with their brethren, in bringing about the great end contemplated."

Extract from the Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal church, holden at Petersburg, on the 13 th May, 1819.

"Resolved, That this convention highly approve of the objects of the American Colonization Society; and that a committee be appointed to transmit to the president of the Society, a copy of this resolution, and to assure him of the good wishes and prayers of the committee in behalf of the benevolent exertions of the Society."

Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church.—Session of the Assembly, May 31 st, 1819.

"The objects and plans of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, having been stated to the general assembly, and the same having been considered and

discussed, the assembly resolved, That in their opinion, the plan of the Society is benevolent in its design, and, if properly supported and judiciously and vigorously prosecuted, calculated to be extensively useful to this country and to Africa. The situation of the people of colour, has frequently attracted the attention of this assembly. In the distinctive and indelible marks of their colour, and the prejudices of the people, an insurmountable bar has been placed against the execution of any plan for the elevating their character, and placing them on a footing with their brethren of the same common family. In restoring them to the land of their fathers, the assembly hope the way may be opened, not only for the accomplishment of that object, but for introducing civilization and the gospel to the benighted nations of Africa. From the information and statements received, the assembly believe, that the proposed colony in Africa may be made a powerful auxiliary, in the efforts which are now making to abolish the iniquitous traffic in slaves, carried on in Africa, and happily calculated to lay the foundation for the gradual emancipation of slaves in this country, in a legal and constitutional manner, and without violating the rights, or injuring the feelings of our southern brethren.

"With these views, the assembly feel it a duty earnestly to recommend the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States to the patronage and attention of the churches under their care, and to benevolent individuals throughout the union."

Extract from the minutes of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, N. C., Monday, 14 th October, 1819.

"Resolved, That the presbytery do heartily approve of the object proposed by the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States; and that they do sincerely wish, and fervently pray, that the said society may meet with the most abundant and speedy success."

At a meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in Winchester, on the 23 d October, 1819, the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

"Whereas, the synod of Virginia are informed of the existence in our country, of an association of intelligent and patriotic citizens, under the title of the American Colonization Society, the object of which is, to send out to Africa, such free persons of colour as may be willing to go: and, whereas, there is reason to hope that this enterprise, if conducted with proper discretion, will produce the happiest effects, particularly in aiding to communicate the glad tidings of the gospel to an interesting quarter of the globe; and to meliorate the condition of a degraded portion of our population; while it promises the means of alleviating evils which our own country has reason to deplore.

"Resolved unanimously, That the synod of Virginia do recommend, and they do hereby cordially recommend to all the members of the churches and congregations under their care, to aid

the design of the said Society according to opportunity and ability, by their countenance, their contributions, and their prayers to Almighty God for its success."

At an annual meeting of the Convention of the Congregational clergy of Connecticut, at Hartford, May 2 d, 1827:

"Resolved, That this Convention does cheerfully recommend the American Colonization Society, to the charitable consideration of the Congregational churches in this state, as an institution worthy of the patronage of individuals, of the states, and of the nation.

"Resolved, That this convention cordially approves of the measures proposed by several ecclesiastical bodies in our country, of making collections in the churches, for the American Colonization Society, on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding the 4th of July, and that they recommend such annual collections to churches and congregations in this state."

Extract from the Minutes of the Baptist General Convention of the State of Ohio, May 28, 1827.

"Resolved, That this convention highly approve of the objects of the Colonization Society, and that we recommend to our ministers and brethren generally, to use their influence to advance its interests."

Ohio Methodist Conference.

"At a special meeting of the Ohio Local District Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, held June 18th, 1827:"

"Resolved, That this conference cordially approve the benevolent objects of the American Colonization Society, and that all the preachers within its jurisdiction be, and they are hereby earnestly requested to deliver public addresses, and to take up public collections, in support of the colonization cause, on the 4th day of July, annually, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day, wherever it may be found practicable."

Resolution of the Lutheran Synod.

At a meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran church, of West Pennsylvania, Mifflin, Sept. 30, 1827, the synod,

"Resolved, That this synod highly approve of the institution and proceedings of the American Colonization Society, and most earnestly recommend its interests and advancement to the prayers and patronage of all the churches under their care."

Resolutions of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, May, 1828.

"Resolved, 1st. That this conference highly approve of the objects proposed, and the measures taken by the American Colonization Society, in reference to the colonization of the free people of colour on the coast of Africa.

"2d. That this conference look to the settlement of Liberia, as opening a door for the diffusion of all the benign influences of the gospel, over the continent of Africa; and therefore recommend it to our ministers and members, to aid, by their exertions and influence, in the formation and support of auxiliary societies, and the making annual collections to aid in carrying into effect the benevolent designs of the parent institution."

Resolution of the Synod of Utica, N. Y. 1829.

'Resolved, That all clergymen within the bounds of this synod, be, and they hereby are, most earnestly requested, to take up collections and subscriptions yearly, on or near the fourth of July, as a proper mode of aiding the funds of the Colonization Society; and that, as far as practicable, they enable their people to understand the history, design, progress, and prospects of the Society."

Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, 1830.

"Resolved, That it be recommended to all the churches under the care of the general assembly, to take up collections for the Colonization Society, on the next 4th of July."

Resolution of the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, 1831.

"Resolved, That the Conference highly approving of the plan and purposes of the American Colonization Society, do recommend that collections be taken up throughout the churches within our bounds, so far as is practicable, on the 4th of July next, in aid of the funds of the above Society."

From the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed church.

"Resolved, That this synod cheerfully recommend to the patronage of the churches under their care, the American Colonization Society.

"Resolved, That whenever meetings shall be held on the 4th of July, it be earnestly recommended to have collections made in behalf of this institution."

Resolution of the Baltimore Methodist Annual Conference.

"Resolved, by the Baltimore annual conference, in conference assembled, That we highly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society; and that he will use all prudent means to promote its success, by taking up collections in aid of its funds, on the Sabbath preceding or succeeding the 4th of July, in all places where it is practicable."

Resolution of the New York Methodist Annual Conference.

"Resolved, That each preacher in charge, be advised, with the consent of the official members, to take up a collection in one or more of the principal congregations of his circuit or station, in behalf of the Colonization Society, on the 4th of July next, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day."

The following resolution was passed, at the late session of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, May 1832.

"Whereas, it is the opinion of this body, that African colonization is eminently calculated to benefit a long-persecuted and deeply-injured race, by furnishing to the free people of colour an opportunity to escape from the oppression which they suffer in this country—by removing the obstacles to the voluntary emancipation of the slaves; and especially by the facilities it affords for suppressing the horrid traffic in human flesh on the coast of Africa, and for the introduction of christianity and civilization into that benighted continent. Therefore,

"Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the pastors of all the churches under the care of the General Assembly, to bring the claims of the American Colonization Society before their respective congregations; and that it be recommended to the churches, to take up collections in aid of its funds on the 4th of July, or some Sabbath near it."

GRAND JURY.

Resolutions of the Grand Jury in Ross county, Ohio, March, 1827.

"Whereas, the benevolent scheme to colonize the free people of colour on the continent of Africa, merits the decided concurrence and entire approbation of the members which compose the grand jury:

"Therefore resolved, That we, the members of this grand jury, do hereby concur in the great and benevolent plan, instituted by the American Colonization Society at Washington city, for the purpose of colonizing the free people of colour on the continent of Africa; and do recommend it to the patronage of the good people of this county."

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LETTER IX.

Situation of the Colonists in Liberia.—Soil, and Climate.—Productions and Commerce.—Morals and Manners.—Testimony of a Committee in Monrovia,—Of Captain Nicholson.

The subject discussed in this letter, is of paramount importance. Whatever considerations of policy, in regard to this country, might plead in favour of the scheme of colonization, it would not have the sanction of the friends of mankind, of those who commiserate the depressed condition of the coloured population of the United States, if the situation of the emigrants were not manifestly improved. To place this vital point on a basis as firm as the rock of Gibraltar, I have collected what may be regarded as a superfluity of testimony; as that of any one of the parties would be sufficient to remove all doubts from the minds of all persons open to conviction. But it seemed right, in such a case, "to make assurance doubly sure."

Of a circular, forwarded by a committee of the inhabitants of Monrovia, to their brethren in the United States, dated September 1827, the following instance is the substance:

EXTRACT.

"As much speculation and uncertainty continues to prevail among the people of colour in the United States, respecting our situation and prospects in Africa; and many misrepresentations have been put in circulation there, of a nature slanderous to *us*, and, in their effects, injurious to *them*; we felt it our duty, by a true statement of our circumstances, to endeavour to correct them.

" The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object, which we still regard with the deepest concern, is liberty —liberty, in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word; not a licentious liberty, nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws—but that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguishes the free, enfranchised citizens of a free state. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country; and, from causes which, as respects ourselves, we shall soon forget forever, we were certain it was not there attainable for ourselves or our children. This, then, being the first object of our pursuit in coming to Africa, is probably the first object on which you will ask for information. And we must truly declare to

you, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized. Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, "all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States;" and these rights and privileges are ours:— *we are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and, what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions, have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own: they grow out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence.* We have a judiciary, chosen from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens ourselves. *We have all that is meant by liberty of conscience.* The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed to us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

"Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce, and soil, and resources of the country, at our disposal; *we know nothing of that debasing inferiority with which our very colour stamped us in America: there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters—that repays us ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons, for the happy change that has taken place in our situation.* We are not so self-complacent as to rest satisfied with our improvement, either as regards our minds or our circumstances. We do not expect to remain stationary. Far from it. But we certainly feel ourselves, for the first time, in a state to improve either, to any purpose. The burden is gone from our shoulders; we now breathe and move freely; and know not, (in surveying your present state) for which to pity you most—the empty name of liberty, which you endeavour to content yourselves with, in a country that is not yours, or the delusion which makes you hope for ampler privileges in that country hereafter. Tell us, which is the white man, who, with a prudent regard to his own character, can associate with one of you, on terms of equality? Ask *us*, which is the white man who would decline such association with one of our number, whose intellectual and moral qualities are not an objection? To both these questions, we unhesitatingly make the same answer:—There is no such white man.

" *We solicit none of you to emigrate to this country: for we know not who among you prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of his fellow men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty which you already possess, and your children will inherit after you, in America.* But if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher—if your minds are not as servile as your present condition—we can decide the question at once; and with confidence say, that you will bless the day, and your children after you, when you determined to become citizens of Liberia.

"But we do not hold this language on the blessings of liberty, for the purpose of consoling ourselves for the sacrifice of health, or the suffering of want, in consequence of our removal to Africa. We enjoy health, after a few months' residence in the country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has, for the last two years, been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points there are, and have been much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentations in the U. States.

" The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health more or less—and, in the cases of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our 21 houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and, for the last two or three years, not one person in forty, from the middle and southern states, has died from the change of climate. The disastrous fate of the company of settlers who came out from Boston in the brig Vine, eighteen months ago, is an exception to the common lot of emigrants; and the causes of it ought to be explained. Those people left a cold region in the coldest part of winter, and arrived here in the hottest season of our year. Many of them were too old to have survived long in any country. They most imprudently neglected the prescriptions of our very successful physician, the Rev. Lott Cary, who has great experience and great skill in the fevers of the country; and depended on medicines brought with them, which could not fail to prove injurious. And, in consequence of all those unfortunate circumstances, their sufferings were severe, and many died. But we are not apprehensive that a similar calamity will befall any future emigrants, except under similar disadvantages.

" People now arriving, have comfortable houses to receive them; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency which, alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony.

"But you may say, that even health and freedom, as good as they are, are still dearly paid for, when they cost you the common comforts of life, and expose your wives and children to famine, and all

the evils of want and poverty. We do not dispute the soundness of this conclusion either; but we utterly deny that it has any application to the people of Liberia.

"Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country: they are the observations of such ignorant and designing men, as would injure both it and you. *A more fertile soil, and a more productive country so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth.* Its hills and plains are covered with a verdure which never fades: the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

" Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests; and may be cultivated, at pleasure, to any extent, by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Indian corn, guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Add to all this, we have no dreary winter here, for one half of the year to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renewing herself, and constantly pouring her treasures, all the year round, into the laps of the industrious. We could say, on this subject, more; but we are afraid of exciting, too highly, the hopes of the imprudent. Such persons, we think, will do well to keep their rented cellars, and earn their twenty-five cents at the wheelbarrow, in the commercial towns of America, and stay where they are. *It is only the industrious and virtuous that we can point to independence, and plenty, and happiness, in this country.* Such people are nearly sure to attain, in a very few years, to a style of comfortable living, which they may in vain hope for in the United States; and, however short we come of this character ourselves, it is only a due acknowledgement of the bounty of Divine Providence to say, that we generally enjoy the good things of this life to our entire satisfaction,

"Our trade is chiefly confined to the coast, to the interior parts of the continent, and to foreign vessels. It is already valuable and fast increasing. It is carried on in the productions of the country, consisting of rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye-woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee: and it brings us, in return, the products and manufactures of the four quarters of the world. Seldom, indeed, is our harbour clear of European and American shipping; and the bustle and thronging of our streets, show something, already, of the activity of the smaller sea ports of the United States.

" Mechanics of nearly every trade, are carrying on their various occupations; their various occupations; their wages are high, and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.

"Not a child or youth in the colony, but is provided with an appropriate school. We have a numerous public library, and a court house, meeting houses, school houses, and fortifications sufficient, or nearly so, for the colony, in its present state.

"Our houses are constructed of the same materials, and finished in the same style, as in the towns of America. We have abundance of good building stone, shells for lime, and clay, of an excellent quality, for bricks. Timber is plentiful, of various kinds, and fit for all the different purposes of building and fencing.

"Truly we have a goodly heritage: and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country, it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and He knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted, by his Providence, to this shore. Such great favours, in so short a time, and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but his special blessing. This we acknowledge. We only want the gratitude which such signal favours call for. Nor are we willing to close this paper, without adding a heartfelt testimonial of the deep obligations we owe to our American patrons and best earthly benefactors, whose wisdom pointed us to this home of our nation, and whose active and persevering benevolence enabled us to reach it. Judge, then, of the feelings, with which we hear the motives and doings of the Colonization Society traduced; and that, too, by men too ignorant to know what the Society has accomplished; too weak to look through its plans and intentions; or too dishonest to acknowledge either. But, without pretending to any prophetic sagacity, we can certainly predict to that society, the ultimate triumph of their hopes and labours, and disappointment and defeat to all who oppose them. Men may theorize, and speculate about their plans in America, but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of christian instruction, and scenes of christian worship, which are heard, and seen in this land of brooding pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen, united in forming a new christian empire, happy themselves, and instruments of happiness to others—every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration, of the wisdom and goodness of the plan of colonization.

"Where is the argument that shall refute facts like these? And where is the man hardy enough to deny them?" D

" Washington, March 17, 1828.

"Having visited the colony of Liberia, on my return to the United States, from a cruise in the Mediterranean, I cheerfully comply with your request, by presenting to you such views of its present condition and probable growth, as occurred to me in the course of that visit.

" The soil in the possession of the colonists is rich, and will produce a superabundance for the support of the colony, as well as for external commerce. Sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, and various trees and plants, yielding valuable dyes, and medicinal gums, can be cultivated with success.

"The children born in the country, are fine looking, and I presume can be raised as easily as those of the natives. All the colonists with whom I had communication (and with nearly the whole of them did I communicate, in person, or by my officers,) *expressed their decided wish to remain in their present situation, rather than return again to the United States.* I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the colony, than by mentioning, that *eight of my crew, (coloured mechanics,) after going ashore two several days, applied for and received their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers.* These men had been absent from their country upwards of three years, and had among them nearly two thousand dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced, that their happiness and prosperity would be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren in Liberia, they would not have determined on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps forever, where they had all left friends and relatives.

"The appearance of all the colonists, those of Monrovia as well as Caldwell, indicated more than contentment. Their manners were those of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had, by trade, accumulated a competency, if the possession of from three to five thousand dollars may be called so. As a proof of the growing importance of the commerce of the country, more than one hundred hogsheads of tobacco, had been imported, during the last year, and the demand was increasing. Ivory and camwood are now the prominent articles received in exchange, for foreign imports; other dye-woods, and many medicinal gums and roots, will be hereafter brought in, as they are already known to exist in the interior.

"The importance of this colony, as regards the native tribes of the coast, is, in my estimation, great. They already begin to perceive, that it is civilization and the blessings of religion, which give superiority to man over his fellow man. They had supposed it was the white skin; but now they see in their neighbourhood, men of their own colour, enjoying all those advantages, hitherto deemed peculiar to the former. This has elicited a spirit of inquiry, which must tend to their benefit. The philanthropist may anticipate the day, when our language and our religion will spread over this now

benighted land. The slave trade will cease, as the colony progresses, and extends its settlements. *The very spot where now exists a free people, was a depot for the reception of manacled slaves.* This fact alone is entitled to consideration, and ought to arouse the zeal of the friends of humanity every where.

"I take leave to mention, that the climate is much like that of all similar latitudes; and as the land is rich, and most of it still in woods, we must expect that bilious fever will sometimes prevail; but I do not think it more unhealthy to the coloured people, than our extreme southern coast; and as the soil of Liberia becomes clear and cultivated, I have no doubt it will be found as healthy as any other southern latitude. It was, I believe, never intended that the white man should inhabit this region of the globe; at least, we know that the diseases of this climate are more fatal to him, than to the man of colour. They luxuriate in the intense heat, while a white man sinks under its exhausting influences.

JOHN B. NICHOLSON."

LETTER X.

Subjects continued.—Letter from Captain Sherman—from Captain Kennedy—from Captain Weaver—from Captain Abels.

Extract of a letter from W. E. Sherman, Captain of the Liberia, which carried the Colonists to Liberia, in January, 1830, to Mr. Edward Hallowell.

" Philadelphia, May 10, 1830.

"Monrovia, at present, consists of about *ninety dwelling houses and stores, two houses for public worship, and a court house.* Many of the dwellings are handsome and convenient, and all of them comfortable. The plot of the town is cleared more than a mile square, elevated about seventy feet above the level of the sea, and contains *seven hundred* inhabitants. *The streets are generally one hundred feet wide, and, like those of our good city, intersect each other at right angles.* The Colonization Society have an agent and a physician there.

"The agent is the chief magistrate of the colony, and the physician his assistant. *No white people are allowed to reside in the colony for the purpose of trade, or of pursuing any mechanical business, such being intended for the exclusive benefit of the coloured people.* The colonial secretary, collector of customs, surveyor, and constables, are appointed by the agent—the vice-agent, sheriff, treasurer, and all other civil officers are elective, and all the offices except that of the agent and physician are filled by coloured people.

"The court holds its sessions on the first Monday in every month; juries are empannelled as with us; and its jurisdiction extends over the whole colony. The trials are, principally, for larceny, and the criminals are generally natives, who commit thefts in the settlements. A few instances of kidnapping have occurred; these depredations were committed on the recaptured Africans. *To the honour of the emigrants be it mentioned, that but five of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanor, since 1827.*

" Two native kings have put themselves and their subjects, (supposed to amount to ten thousand,) under the protection of the colony, and are ready, should it be thought necessary or expedient by the settlers, to put into their hands, arms, to make common cause with them, in case of hostilities by any of the natives; which, however, is not anticipated, as the most friendly disposition is manifested by all the natives of the country, from whom any danger might have been apprehended.

"There is much hospitality to be found in Monrovia, and among the inhabitants a greater proportion of moral and religious characters than in this city. *I never saw a man intoxicated, nor heard any profane swearing during the three weeks I was among them.*

"The two houses for religious worship, are Baptist and Methodist—The Baptists have three, and Methodists five preachers, all intelligent coloured men, merchants and traders, residing among them; so that the people have nothing to pay for the support of ministers. Five German missionaries, some ministers and teachers, reside there, a portion of whom preach at the Methodist church occasionally.

"It has been objected that the climate is very unhealthy—this is true, as it respects the whites, but erroneous as respects the coloured people. *Those 23 from the middle and northern states, have to undergo what is called a seasoning—that is, they generally take the fever the first month of their residence, but it has rarely proved fatal, since accommodations have been prepared for their reception; those from Georgia, the Carolinas, and the southern parts of Virginia, either escape the fever altogether, or have it very slightly.* Death occurs there, indeed, as in other places; but Dr. Mechlin, the agent, assured me that the bills of mortality would show a less proportion of deaths, than those of Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York. W. E. SHERMAN."

Letter from Captain Kennedy, of the U. S. ship Java, to the secretary of the Society.

" Norfolk, June 22, 1831.

" Sir —I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 11th inst. requesting my opinion of the condition and necessities of the colony at Liberia.

"I hope I need not assure you, that it affords me great gratification to comply with your request, and to lay before you a statement of the facts which presented themselves to me, during the visit I made to Montserado, in the frigate Java, under my command.

"The wisdom and talent which distinguish the councils of the Society to which you belong, and the vast materials which your experience and zeal have enabled you to collect, cause great diffidence on my part, in the suggestion of any new plan of operations. I was, however, not an idle observer, during my stay among the colonists, and the conclusions which pressed upon my mind, as the results of my inquiries, shall be most cheerfully submitted for your better judgment and consideration.

"It may not be improper to observe in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under auspices very unfavourable to the practicability of the scheme of your Society; for while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labours, and the very problematical results, in the want of success, left an impression upon my mind, altogether unfavourable to the institution—under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and *by long and weary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their condition, (if such existed,) or any latent design to return to their native country—neither of these did I observe; on the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that, disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society—they felt themselves proud of their attitude, and seemed conscious, that while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers.*

"I was pleased to observe that they were impressed with the vast importance of a proper education, not only of their children, but of the children of the natives; and that to this they looked confidently as the means of effecting their high object, namely, the civilization of their benighted brethren in Africa.

"I observed, with great satisfaction, that their children, in many instances, could converse in the languages of the tribes by which the colony is surrounded. Thus the obstacles which formerly embarrassed its commerce with the interior, and which, by the by, are even now but few, must,

in a very short time, cease entirely to exist. Most of the articles of traffic which can be profitably used in barter with the natives, are familiar to your readers; but there are yet some which have not employed the enterprise of our citizens, and of those embraced in their speculations, many improvements in quality might advantageously be enumerated. The inhabitants of King Boatswain's town, (one hundred and eighty miles up the St. Paul's river, and twenty miles from it, which empties into the bay of Montserado,) interchange with the most friendly dispositions towards the colonists.

"It gives me pleasure to state, that the colonists are turning their attention to the cultivation of coffee. That this article of produce is to prove a source of vast wealth to the colonists there can be no doubt; the labour and expense of its cultivation will be comparatively small; indeed, they have but to clear away the forest trees, and the plantations are ready to their hands. *There are two descriptions of the plant indigenous—one, a shrub, evidently the same as the Mocha, but yielding a berry of superior flavour; the other a tree, frequently attaining the height of 40 feet:* a specimen of the latter, I brought with me to Cuba, in the Java, and left with Mr. Shaler, our Consul, for the Botanic Garden of that city.

"That there are many vast resources, yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can entertain a doubt; that they will soon be brought forth, and made available by the enterprise and intelligence of the colonists, is equally unquestionable. How earnestly then, should every philanthropist apply himself to aid and advance the operations of a society, the object of which is, not only to elevate so large a portion of our fellow beings from the degrading relations in which they stand towards the rest of the human race, but to redeem from the thralldom of ignorance, superstition and vice, a whole continent! That these great results are, under Providence, to be accomplished, is a conviction to which I have been brought by actual experience and scrutinizing observation. EDWARD P. KENNEDY."

"P. S. It would be well, perhaps, to state, that, in a conversation with one of the Kroos, or Kroomen, I was informed by him, that he came with his wife from Timbuctoo by water, with the exception of twenty-five miles, the distance that city stands from the Niger; he came down the St. Paul's to Montserado."

Extract of a letter from Captain Weaver, who visited the Colony in 1831.

" Washington, Jan. 1, 1832.

"The charge of unhealthiness against Liberia, for the coloured races, cannot be supported. It is the birthplace of the black man, to which his constitution is peculiarly adapted; and though estranged for a time from his native clime, nature will undoubtedly triumphantly resume her sway, whenever he returns to the land of his fathers. Africa is the black man's home, physically. Morally, he should aspire for a residence within her boundaries. He is *there*, the lord of the soil—all mankind are *there*

his equals—the distinction of colour is *there* against the white man; for in Africa, he is a sort of “*lusus naturæ*,” an object to be pointed at by the finger of curiosity, an object of dread for his power, and of hatred for his avarice. Sir, I have faith in the success of the colony of Liberia—you have many difficulties to encounter; but they are not insurmountable. If our government will deign to foster that colony, a very short time will suffice to render it of great importance, in a commercial point of view, independent of home considerations. In the tobacco trade, we can have no rivals. The north and the south are deeply interested in the prosperity of our sable colony. The north will find a vent for her surplus manufactures, and the south a home and a refuge for a portion of its population, which every good citizen must wish to see speedily transferred thither—I mean the free coloured population 24 of the United States. The cost of transportation is, by many persons of intelligence, deemed an insurmountable barrier. Avarice brought them here! Shall we make the painful admission, that that vice so far exceeds the combined virtues of a christian community, as to render its deeds irrevocable? No, Sir; it is in the power of the American people, with a due understanding of the case, and of the magnitude of the object, to effect much by a simultaneous movement.”

Letter from Captain Abels, of the schooner Margaret Mercer, dated Washington Feb. 10, 1832.

“Having just arrived in the United States, from the colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the colony. On the 14th of December I arrived, and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the colonists appeared to be in good health. *All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized.* There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter.^{ast} Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venitian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable, than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance, in every respect, of the people over their coloured brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America.* I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a minister of the gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist church, to full and attentive congregations, of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of

no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent, or Governor, is a constant attendant on Divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property, and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free people of colour in this country, but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment."

ast; This is a great increase since the visit of Captain Sherman, two years before.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Mechlin, Colony Agent.

"As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the U. S.; that is, *you may take an equal number of the inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers and Sabbath-breakers, &c., than in Liberia.* Indeed, I know of no country where things are conducted more quietly and orderly than in this colony. You rarely hear an oath, and as to riots and breaches of the peace, I recollect of but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, that has come under my notice since I assumed the government of the colony. The Sabbath is more strictly observed, than I ever saw it in the United States. Our Sunday schools are well attended, not only by the children of the colonists, but also by the native children who reside amongst us. The natives themselves are so well acquainted with our strict observance of this day that you never find them offering any thing for sale, nor can you hire them to work for you; I mean those who have been amongst us, and at all acquainted with our customs."

Extract from an Essay on the African Slave Trade, said to be written by a distinguished British naval officer, who passed three years on the African coast. From the Amulet, a London annual for 1832.

"On the subject of Sierra Leone, and the causes of its failure, so much has been said, that it would be superfluous to repeat it here. Public expectation has not, certainly, been answered; but that these experiments are not of a fanciful or impracticable nature, is completely proved by the success which has attended the colony which came next in succession on this coast. This is a bold promontory, called originally Monte Serrado, but corrupted, as all names are, by negro pronunciation, into Mesurado. The American Colonization Society located here a number of free people of colour, the offspring of African slaves, born in America and liberated.

"The settlement consists of two establishments. The first is Monrovia, on Cape Montserado, and the other Caldwell, seven miles up the river St. Paul. The whole population amounts to about three

hundred families, comprising more than 1500 persons, (2000 at present) who have each farms allotted to them, some in the lower and some in the upper settlement. *A regular and most improved system of husbandry is insisted on.*

" Nothing has tended more to suppress the slave-trade in this quarter than the constant intercourse and communication of the natives with these industrious colonists. The American agent, Mr. Ashmun, took every opportunity and means in his power to extinguish a traffic so injurious in every way to the fair trader; and at Cape Montserado, good and correct information was always to be obtained of any slave vessel on the coast, within the communication or influence of the colony. This active, respectable, and intelligent man is since dead; but his spirit still actuates all his people.

" The character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral: their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous; and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. Those who have visited them, speak highly of their appearance and mode of living. They are a comely and well-formed race of negroes—neat and clean in their persons—modest and civil in their manners—and regular and comfortable in their dwellings. Their houses are well built, ornamented with gardens and other pleasing decorations, and on the inside are remarkably clean—the walls well white-washed, and the rooms neatly furnished.

" The complete success of this colony, is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry, and the improvements of social life, as any other race of human beings; and that the melioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical. Wherever the influence of this colony extends, THE SLAVE-TRADE HAS BEEN ABANDONED BY THE NATIVES, AND THE PEACEFUL PURSUITS OF LEGITIMATE COMMERCE ESTABLISHED IN ITS PLACE."

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LETTER XI.

Subjects continued.—Examination of Mr. Devany, High Sheriff of the Colony of Liberia, before a Committee of Congress, on the 26 th and 27 th of May, 1830.

"This Committee consisted of the Hon. C. F. Mercer, Mr. Everett of Mass. Mr. Rose, Mr. Williams, Mr. Vance, Mr. Denny and Mr. Kincaid. Just before the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Francis Devany, one of the earliest, most intelligent and respectable settlers in Liberia, who had, for some time, held the office of High Sheriff in the Colony, arrived in Washington, and, as he had resided in Africa for more than seven years, had discharged faithfully and usefully, the duties of several responsible offices, and had been and continued to be engaged in extensive trade, it was deemed important,

by Mr. Mercer, Chairman of the Committee just mentioned, to receive his testimony, respecting the geography, climate, soil, natural and civil History, municipal Government, manners, productions, commerce, navigation, arts and improvements of the Colony of Liberia.

"Mr. Devany stated, in reply to queries put to him by the Hon. Mr. Mercer, Judge Spencer, and others, that the Colonists labour under very serious inconvenience, for want of a National Flag, under which to sail. A number of vessels are owned by them, which might, and would be engaged in commerce to this country, but which are laid up at present for want of a flag. Mr. Devany himself owns one, which cost him a thousand dollars. Another Colonist owns a vessel that cost \$6,000. Both these valuable vessels are now laid up, and going to decay, as the owners do not consider it safe to venture them at sea, under existing circumstances. Besides these, there are five or six others owned in the Colony, of smaller value. These are engaged in a coasting trade of very confined extent; the greatest distance to which they venture to go, is as far as Sierra Leone. The object of their apprehension is not the hostility of the European powers, but the pirates who infest those seas. The British and French have both behaved in the most friendly manner towards the Colonists.

"The prevailing morals of the Colonists are good. *Mr. Devany had witnessed but one fight among them during his residence there*, and that was occasioned by a sort of political-quarrel with a coloured man from Sierra Leone, who, partaking of the jealous spirit which prevails among some persons there, had spoken in an abusive manner of the American Colony and its Government. Larcenies, under the value of five shillings, are punished by fine. Those above that sum, by imprisonment and whipping. *No instance of capital crime had yet occurred.* —Where the laws of the Colony are silent, resort is had to the laws of the United States, so that no crime can, through any deficiency of that kind, be committed with impunity. The courts, when sitting, are well attended. Witnesses are brought up by a process of subpœna, as in the United States. Some instances of intemperance have occurred, but the habit is confined to two persons only, and does not go to such an extent, as to be of serious injury to the families of the individuals, who are blacksmiths. *They have three churches, frame buildings, one of them with a steeple. One belongs to the Baptists, another to the Methodists, and one, not yet finished, to the Presbyterians.* Divine service is attended three times on Sunday, and also on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. The Sunday Schools are attended by many of the native children. All who can be decently clad, are in the habit of attending.—But such as are not clothed, will not come. The natives in the neighbourhood of the Colony are adopting our mode of dress; the men wearing pantaloons, and the women a cloth garment, covering nearly their whole person. They were formerly but very slightly covered; but now females in that situation will not pass through the town, but take a circuitous route to avoid observation. No dancing is practised; the religious part of the community having prevailed in discouraging it. Several of the neighbouring tribes have voluntarily put themselves under the laws of the Colony, and sought its protection. On the death of old King

Peter, a celebrated chief in the neighbourhood, his head man, called Long Peter, made an effort to usurp the Government of the tribe. But they fled to the Colony for protection; in consequence of which delegates were sent among them, and the matter was compromised, by appointing Long Peter as head man, but not as King. The chief acquiesced in this arrangement, and the people were satisfied and returned to their employment. The natives of this tribe have adopted our dress, and many of the children attend the schools in the Colony.

"A very active trade is carried on at Monrovia. A Colonist, by the name of Waring, will have sold goods this year [1830] to the amount of \$70,000. Mr. Devany's own sales amount to between 24 and \$25,000. Being asked how much he considered himself as worth, he replied that he computed his property at \$20,000, and would not be willing to take that sum for it. He has been in the Colony seven years, and had but little property when he went there. *Coffee is very abundant in the higher and more rocky grounds; on sandy soil it is not so plenty.*—The produce of the plants is very various; from some trees enough may be gathered to fill a pocket handkerchief of the largest size, while others will not yield more than half a pound. It resembles the coffee of Java, being white and of large grain. There is another kind, of smaller grain, but this is but little used. The Colony as yet has not made coffee an article of export, the Colonists not having had time to engage in the regular cultivation of the plant. They gather, however, enough for their own consumption. They export dye-woods, of different kinds, hides, ivory, palm oil, and rice. The French, in particular, are desirous of trading in the last article. Provisions are plenty, and in order to keep up the native trade, they are sometimes taken in greater quantities than can be consumed. The traders refuse none that is brought in. The Colonists in general are well satisfied with their situation. The exceptions are very few, and consist of some old women and persons of very weak capacity, such as the Colonists would be glad to get rid of. *On the tables in Monrovia may be found beef, mutton, fish, fowls, ducks, and occasionally a turkey or a roast pig, together with the fruits of the country, which are very various.* Coffee and tea are used for breakfast.

" *The health of the Colony is in general good.* From ten days to six weeks after their first arrival, strangers are liable to attacks of ague and fever; but after that time they are usually healthy. Mr. Devany had travelled up the St. Paul's river till he came to a series of falls extending in all about 10 or 12 miles, in which space the water often falls perpendicularly 20, 30, and 50 feet.

"They gave the master of one of their schools a salary of \$450. This he did not consider sufficient, and engaged in business as public surveyor; in consequence of which the school had somewhat declined, but they had the prospect of getting another 26 teacher. They are desirous of having white men,^{ast} competently educated, to teach their schools; in which capacity only, and in that of clergymen, white persons are allowed to reside in the Colony. A newspaper is published in Monrovia,

by Mr. Russwurm, a coloured man, and a graduate of a college in Maine. He published a paper some time since in New York. He has now upon his list between 2 and 300 subscribers.

ast; White men are exposed to great danger from the climate; it is much better to educate coloured people in this country, and send them to the Colony.

Philadelphia, April 20th, 1832.

"Being asked how the Agents of Government treated the Liberian Colonists, Mr. Devany replied, 'perfectly well, entirely to their satisfaction.' They placed them on a footing of perfect equality, as much as if no distinction of colour existed. The people had great respect for the agents, but still felt themselves at the head of their own society. Much activity and emulation prevail; each settler endeavouring to push his own fortune by all proper and honourable means. If one builds himself a comfortable house this season, his neighbour will endeavour to have as good a one the next. But this competition is attended with no ill will. A plat of the town is drawn and laid off in lots, and when new settlers arrive, they employ a lottery to fix their several situations; each being allowed in the town a quarter of an acre, and 15 acres in its neighbourhood, which he is at liberty to cultivate for himself. Some who wish to become farmers, and settle at a distance, are allowed small farms of 50 acres. The soil is cultivated with ease. Ploughs are not yet introduced. They have some mules which they brought from the Cape De Verds. There are also a few oxen; but these, not having been early broken, do not work to advantage. The late lamented Mr. Cary, however, had a yoke which he broke himself, and which worked very well. They had had some horses, but these not being well managed, had died. Others, however, could readily be procured at the Rio Pongas. The climate is mild and uniform; the thermometer never being lower than 68°, nor higher than 88°, save perhaps one day in a season, when it has been known to rise to 91 degrees. There is a constant sea-breeze, and Mr. Devany had been the weather quite cool; not cold enough however to produce frost. The houses have no chimneys except to the kitchens; but it is customary, in the cooler weather, to use small furnaces with charcoal. Many of the houses are built of stone, others of logs, weather-boarded. Some of these are painted white, with green Venitian blinds. They have gardens abounding with vegetables, and various native fruits. There is a species of sour orange, that seems indigenous to the soil, being found in abundance. The seed of the sweet orange has also been brought from Sierra Leone, and succeeds well. The Tamarind is also plentiful, and the Colonists have now received seeds from America, and are endeavouring to raise various West India fruits. The pine-apple is common, and they have a species of cherry growing in large clusters like grapes. The palm-tree abounds, and is of great value; palm-oil is worth from five to six cents a pound. They take it in trade from the country people at from eight to ten cents a gallon, and the gallon contains from seven to eight pounds."

LETTER XII.

Disadvantages to the white population arising from slavery.—Hardships of the coloured population in the slave states.—Contrast of the situation of the Colonists at Liberia.

In stating the disadvantages to the white population arising from slavery, I shall confine myself to the declarations of slave-holders themselves, whose practical experience enables them to decide; and to whose testimony, therefore, there can be none of those exceptions taken, to which theoretical views would be justly liable.

“To provide for the free negro a country, is alike the dictate of humanity towards him, and of policy towards ourselves. While he remains here, no white labourer will seek employment near him. Hence it is, that in some of the richest counties east of the Blue Ridge, the white population is stationary, and in many others it is retrograde. *Virginia, once the first state in numbers, as she is still in territory, has become the third, and will soon have to descend to the fourth rank. The valuation of the lands of New York, exceeds the estimate of all the lands and slaves in Virginia.*”—*Richmond and Manchester Colonization Society.*

“Experience has taught us, that slaves add nothing to our wealth. Where they exist, labour is not only high, but badly performed; and the communities growing up around us, which are clear of this evil, flourish over us, and by their cheapness of labour, nicer mechanism, and more abundant industry, are making us tributary. The progress of light—the conduct of other nations—and particularly that of our South American neighbours, in liberating their slaves—the growing belief of the disadvantages of slavery, with other causes, contribute to increase the conviction that *slavery is an evil, and that its consequences may, one day or other, become terrible.*”—*Kentucky Colonization Society.*

“Slavery is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out an industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. This evil admits of no remedy—it is increasing, and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there, floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in human flesh—the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them—there is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. *Labour of every species is disreputable, because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost every where declining—and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished.* Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature

has done so much, and art so little. If cultivated by free labour, the soil of Virginia is capable of sustaining a dense population, among whom labour would be honourable, and where 'the busy hum of men' would tell that all were happy, and that all were free."— *Speech of T. Marshall, of Fauquier Co. in the legislature of Virginia.*

"The effect of slavery on our national prosperity, is well worth consideration. Our political power is fast passing away; our relative influence in this union rapidly decreasing; and should it be dissolved (which God avert!) with such a canker preying on our vitals, who can foresee the point of political imbecility to which we may ultimately arrive? But no more of this—my national love recoils at the view.

"Whilst one half of our population are taught to look on labour as degrading, or are unable to procure employment, should their pressing wants overcome this feeling; the whole class of labourers have a direct interest in doing and saving as little as possible, so that they barely screen themselves from 27 punishment. I do not say this is always the case; but such is unquestionably the effect: and if we compare it with a system in which each one has a direct interest in producing and saving as much as possible, the difference in the result throughout a whole community, would be astounding. Let us trace the effects of the two systems a little further, in a picture, one part of which will be familiar to many. Take the case of a man in Virginia, having a capital of \$10,000 vested in lands and negroes, with a family of ten children. It is sufficient while together, for their comfortable support. As the children grow up there is no want of steady labour, on the farm, even if they have been so fortunate as to escape the idea that it would be degrading. The surplus of the estate affords not the means of education beyond the ordinary instruction of a country school. As they grow up, they must imitate their neighbours in dress and habits. The girls find ample employment in making up their own dresses, or little ornaments for their own persons; the young men must have horses, and perhaps a slave occasionally to feed and clean them.—With neither employment nor intellectual amusements to keep them at home, they seek company at the public places in their neighbourhood. Money must be had; and the resources of the farm, drained to the utmost, leave no capital for improvement, even should the father escape inextricable embarrassment. Finally, the old people die, and leave a family of sons, unaccustomed to labour, unfit for professions, helpless, and too probably vicious from indolence. The property is divided: and each share, too small to support them in their accustomed courses, even until they determine on what is to be done, is most commonly wasted in vice and sensuality.

"View, on the contrary, a family of equal numbers and capital, vested in land and stock, in a non-slave holding community. The daughters are compelled to assist their mother in all the domestic labour. If there be a son of sprightly and promising talents, he is educated for a profession, and

thus provided for. The wants of the farm demand the services of the others in summer, and in winter they receive the rudiments of a plain education until the time at which they may be put to trades or business. As they arrive at age respectively, the small earnings of industry the parents may have saved, are applied in establishing them in the pursuit of their choice. Finally, the person dies, and leaves the real estate (burthened, perhaps, with legacies) to the sons, thus compelled to industry, until they have families of their own, when the same process is renewed. In this way, is the community continually supplied with an industrious class of labourers. No capital is dissipated by the system, but a continual accumulation; which extending through a whole community for a series of years, will sufficiently account for the difference in prosperity between the slave and non-slave holding States, without resorting to the Tariff, or the oppression of the Federal Government.

"These and other causes, which, in the limits of a few newspaper essays, it would be impossible to enumerate, must continually cause our white population to diminish as the black increases."

Richmond Enquirer.

It was stated by Col. Mercer, in the late Virginia Convention, that in 1817, the lands in that state were valued at \$206,000,000

In 1829, at 96,000,000

That at the former period, the slaves averaged \$300

In 1829, 150

In an address delivered by Mr. Key, before the Colonization Society, some time since, he asserted that in one county in Maryland having but few slaves, the increase of population between 1810 and 1820, amounted to many thousands; while in another, having an equal number of slaves and whites, there was a decrease of almost a fifth of its entire population. "Lands of similar quality," he added, "bear very different prices in the two districts; for farmers will not migrate to a slave country—and there is the same difference in many other particulars."

It is difficult to account satisfactorily, for the hostility displayed towards the Colonization Society, by so many of the coloured people, and by some of their influential friends among the whites. That the situation of the colonists in Liberia, is at least equal to that of the most fortunate and favoured of their class in this country, will not admit of a doubt, from the unimpeachable testimony adduced in Letter IX—and that it is incomparably superior to that of the great mass of them in our towns and cities, is equally indisputable. Few of these are engaged in trade or commerce, or have any hopes of

elevating themselves to that situation. Nine-tenths of them are in subordinate and menial situations, and likely thus to remain, at low wages. That they labour under the most oppressive disadvantages, which their freedom can by no means counterbalance, is too obvious to admit of doubt. I waive all inquiry whether this be right or wrong. I speak of things as they are—not as they might or ought to be. They are cut off from the most remote chance of amalgamation with the white population, by feelings or prejudices, call them what you will, that are ineradicable. The situation of the majority of them, is more unfavourable than that of many of the slaves. "With all the burdens, cares, and responsibilities of freedom, they have few or none of its substantial benefits. Their associations are, and must be, chiefly with slaves. Their right of suffrage gives them little, if any, political influence, and they are practically, if not theoretically, excluded from representation and weight in our public councils." No merit, no services, no talents, can ever elevate the great mass of them to a level with the whites. Occasionally an exception may arise. A coloured individual, of great talents, merits, and wealth, may emerge from the crowd. Cases of this kind, are to the last degree, rare. The coloured people are subject to legal disabilities, more or less galling and severe, in almost every state in the Union. Severe regulations have been recently passed in Louisiana, to prevent the introduction of free people of colour. Whenever they appear, they are to be banished in sixty days. The strong opposition to the establishment of a negro college in New-Haven, speaks in a language not to be mistaken, the jealousy with which they are regarded. And there is no reason to expect, that the lapse of centuries will make any 28 change in this respect. They will always, unhappily, be regarded as an inferior race.

They are, moreover, chased from state to state. The colony that was lately expelled from Ohio, was originally obliged to leave Virginia, by the rigour of its laws, on the subject of free coloured people. They were but a few years in Ohio, when a law of that state, obliging them, under a penalty, to give \$500 security for their good behaviour, and that they shall not become chargeable, was ordered to be put in force against them. With the provisions of this law, they could not or would not comply. They accordingly removed to Canada, where, to judge from some of the papers of the province, they appear to be regarded with jealousy.

A corps of Philadelphia volunteers quite recently passed through Providence, on its way to Boston. It was accompanied by Johnson's coloured band, whose skill and talents are celebrated wherever they are known. But such was the jealousy of their colour, that they were not allowed to play in the city. This is a small affair, but it shows the strength of feeling on the subject. "Straws show which way the wind blows."

A case has recently occurred in North Carolina, which speaks volumes on this subject. There is, it appears, a law in that state, which subjects any free coloured person who enters it, to a fine of \$500,

and, in the event of non-payment, to be sold as a slave. A person of this description lately entered the state—was prosecuted under the law—and, not being able to pay the fine, was actually sold.

Of the cruelty and hardship of, those proceedings, no disinterested person can doubt. They are intended as security from danger. How far they are called for, or justified by that motive, or whether they do not increase, if not create the danger sought to be avoided, is not the present purpose to inquire. Our object is, to show by contrast, the strong inducements the free coloured people have, to emigrate. Under the excitement produced by the Southampton massacre, a police act of extreme rigour was passed by the legislature of Virginia, at its last session:—

“This act prohibits the slaves, free negroes, and mulatto preachers, whether ordained or licensed, from preaching or holding any meeting for religious or other purposes, either by day or night, to be punished with stripes, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes for every offence; any person being authorized to apprehend the offender without a warrant previously obtained; it also prohibits all negroes, &c. from attending any such preaching or meeting conducted by negro preachers, or even by white preachers in the night time, without a written permit from their owners, masters, or their agents, to be punished for every offence in like manner; any person, however, is permitted to take his slave with him to hear religious instruction, conducted by a white minister in the night; slaves of any one owner not prevented from assembling at any time, for religious devotion; no free negro to be suffered to keep or carry any gun or military weapon, the arms and ammunition to be forfeited to the informer, and the offender to be punished with stripes as aforesaid; and it takes away from the county courts the power to grant permission to keep or carry such weapons, as heretofore; it declares it felony, punishable with death, for any slave, free negro, &c. to assault and beat, wilfully and maliciously, any white person, with intent to kill; punishes with stripes for the first offence, and with death the second, any slave, free negro, &c. who shall hereafter write, print, or cause to be written or printed, any book, pamphlet, or other writing, (or knowingly circulate the same,) advising persons of colour in this state to make insurrection, or to rebel; and if the offender be a white person, imposes a fine of not less than one hundred, nor more than one thousand dollars; punishes with stripes free negroes, &c. guilty of riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, trespasses and seditious speeches.

“The act to be given in charge to the grand juries; and the attornies for the commonwealth required to lodge an information of any violation of its provisions in their knowledge, or of which they have cause to suspect any person, before the proper court or jury. To take effect on the first of July next.”

A law lately passed in Georgia, subjects to a quarantine of forty days, all vessels having free coloured persons on board. This law prohibits all intercourse with such vessels, by free coloured persons or slaves, and directs that the captains who bring them shall, under penalty, take them back. It renders

a capital offence, the circulation of pamphlets of evil tendency among the slaves or domestics of the state. It imposes a penalty for teaching free persons of colour to read or write.

A law, lately passed in Maryland, directs the removal from the state, of all slaves manumitted after its date.

"Here, the black man is degraded. You may call him free. You may protect his rights by legislation. You may invoke the spirit of humanity and of Christian benevolence to bless him; but still, he is degraded. A thousand malignant influences around him, are conspiring to wither all that is manly and noble in his nature."

Such being the situation of the free coloured people in this country, with scarcely a hope of a speedy change, surely they ought to long as eagerly for a settlement in the land of their ancestors, as the captive tribes of Israel hungered for a return to the land of Canaan.

What a contrast to their situation in Liberia! There they will be lords of the soil, and have every inducement and every opportunity to cultivate their minds, They will not be borne down by that sense of inferiority, from whose goadings they cannot escape here, and which is enough to depress minds the most highly gifted. According to their respective merits they may aspire to any of the offices of honour, and profit, and influence, in the colony. The bar, and the bench, and the medical profession, will be open to them, from which they are debarred here by an impassable barrier.

May 1, 1832.

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LETTER XIII.

Effects of the Colony of Liberia in restraining the slave trade.—Utter inadequacy of the efforts of the British and other cruisers.—Slight sketch of the horrors of that nefarious traffic.

Allusion was made, in the preface, to three of the leading results of the Colonization Society, any one of which, ought to insure it universal patronage. One only, its effects to annihilate the slave trade in the neighbourhood of the colony, shall be touched on here. Such has been the consequence, also, of the colony at Sierra Leone. The experiment of years has proved, that the only effective mode of extirpating the slave trade, is by the establishment of colonies along the coast.

The efforts of the national vessels stationed there, have proved wholly unavailing. The total number of slaves captured by British vessels, and emancipated, in nine years, from 1819 to 1828, was, according to Walsh, "only 13,281, averaging about 1400 per annum," although, "during that period, it

is supposed *there were annually transported as slaves, from different parts of the coast, 100,000 human beings.* ^{ast};

ast; Notes of Brazil, Vol. II. p. 268.

To prove the immense importance of suppressing this traffic, which, except in one place, is annihilated for nearly two hundred miles, partly north of Sierra Leone, and partly south of Liberia, it may not be improper to give a sketch of it, in the words of an eye witness to some of its horrors; for although this nefarious traffic has been long consigned to the general execration of mankind, yet not one person in five hundred, is probably aware of the hideous barbarity of the demons incarnate by whom it is carried on, or of the intensity of the sufferings and agonies of the ill-fated victims.

Mr. Walsh was on board the North Star, Capt. Arabin, a British vessel of war, stationed on the coast of Africa, to capture slavers, which, after a chase of 300 miles, captured a Brazilian vessel, of which he gives the following account.

"When we mounted her decks, we found her full of slaves. She was commanded by Capt. Jose Barbosa, bound to Bahia. She was a very broad decked ship, with a mainmast, schooner rigged, and behind her foremast was a large formidable gun, which turned on a broad circle of iron on deck, and which enabled her to act as a pirate, if her slaving speculation had failed. She had taken in on the coast of Africa, 336 males, and 226 females, making in all 562, and had been out 17 days, during which she had thrown overboard 55! The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways, between decks. The space was so low that they sat between each other's legs, and stowed so close together, that there was no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position night or day. As they were shipped on account of different individuals, they were all branded like sheep, with the owners marks of different forms.

"These were impressed under their breasts, or on their arms, and, as the mate informed me, with perfect indifference, " queimados pelo ferro quente —BURNT WITH THE RED-HOT IRON!" Over the hatchways, stood a ferocious looking fellow, with a scourge of many twisted thongs in his hand, who was the slave-driver of the ship, and whenever he heard the slightest noise below, he shook it over them, and seemed eager to exercise it.

"The circumstance which struck us most forcibly, was, how it was possible for such a number of human beings to exist, packed up and wedged together as tight as they could cram, in low cells, three feet high, the greater part of which, except that immediately under the grated hatchways, was shut out from light or air, and this, when the thermometer, exposed to the open sky, was standing in the shade, on our deck at 89 deg. The space between decks, was divided into two compartments, 3 feet 3 inches high. The

size of one was 16 feet by 18, and that of the other 40 by 21; *into the first were crammed the women and girls; into the second the men and boys: 226 fellow creatures were thus thrust into one space, 288 feet square; and 336 into another space 800 feet square, giving to the whole, an average of 23 inches, and to each woman not more than 13 inches, though many of them were pregnant.*

"The heat of these horrid places was so great, and the odour so offensive, that it was quite impossible to enter them, even had there been room.

"They were brought upon deck, and after enjoying for some time, the unusual luxury of air, some water was brought: *it was then that the extent of their sufferings was exposed in a fearful manner.* They all rushed like maniacs towards it. *No entreaties, or threats, or blows could restrain them: they shrieked, and struggled, and fought with one another, for a drop of this precious liquid, as if they were rabid at the sight of it.* There is nothing which slaves in a mid-passage suffer from so much as want of water.

"It is sometimes usual to take out casks filled with sea-water, as ballast, and when the slaves are received on board, to start the casks, and refill them with fresh. On one occasion, a ship from Bahia neglected to change the contents of the casks, and *on the mid passage found, to their horror, that they were filled with nothing but salt water.* All the slaves on board perished!" pp. 262, 3, 4.

To heighten the enormity of this "sin crying to heaven for vengeance," it is ascertained, that in cases of scarcity of provision, the slaves are often remorselessly thrown overboard. On board a vessel some time since, thirty nine negroes became blind, and twelve had lost an eye. They were thrown into the fathomless ocean. A single vessel, the Protector, took on board at Mozambique 807 slaves, of whom 339 died on the voyage.

The Maria Primeira, a Portuguese ship, took on board upwards of 500 slaves. This number was reduced to 403 in consequence of extreme crowding, before she was captured, and brought into Sierra Leone. Nearly 100 more died soon afterwards, from diseases contracted on board.—(*Transactions of the London African Association.*) E

30

The following heart-rending picture of the slave trade has been drawn by Sir George Collier, who was employed on the coast of Africa, to suppress it.

"Such is the merciless treatment of the slaves, that no fancy can picture the horrors of the voyage. Crowded together so as not to have the power to move—linked one to the other by the leg—never unfettered while life remains, or till the iron shall have fretted the flesh almost to the bone—forced under a deck, as I have seen them, *not thirty inches in height* —breathing an atmosphere the

most putrid and pestilential possible—with little food and less water—subject to the most severe punishment, at the caprice or fancy of the brute who may command the vessel—it is to me a matter of extreme wonder that any of these miserable wretches live the voyage through. Many of them, indeed, perish on the passage, and those of them who remain to meet the shore, present a picture of wretchedness language cannot express.”

Whoever considers the preceding revolting facts, will acknowledge, that if the Colonization Society did no more than rescue one thousand human beings annually, from such a fate, (and the breaking up of the trade on the adjacent coast, must have rescued thousands,) since the regular organization of the colony in 1824, it would have repaid all its receipts ten fold. Put the whole of the receipts into one scale, and the rescue in the other, and the former will kick the beam.

Philadelphia, May 6, 1832.

LETTER XIV.

Of Africa before the irruption of the Barbarians.

Those who argue, from the present state of the coloured population of this country, against the prospect of a high degree of civilization in Africa, reason from very imperfect data. Here the coloured people have laboured, and still labour, under almost every possible disadvantage. In most of the southern states, slaves are debarred from the attainment of the rudiments of knowledge. And even in states free from slavery, the coloured people have little opportunity of cultivation. Condemned by poverty, almost universally, to the lowest occupations, they have neither time nor means to improve themselves. But they will not suffer much, on a fair comparison with whites of the same grade. The best criterion, however, by which to judge, is the progress they have made in Liberia, where they escape the degradation to which they are exposed here. Of their improvement in morals, and manners, and habits, the testimony of Capts. Sherman, Kennedy, Nicholson, and Abels, &c. from which I have made large quotations in the preceding pages, precludes all doubt. It may be confidently stated, that none of the American colonies made greater advances in the same space of time than they have done in the eight years that have elapsed since the establishment of order and good government in 1824. The contrast between the Colonists of Liberia and the people of the United States, is not so great as between the inhabitants of Great Britain at present, and those in olden times, when the latter painted their bodies, had no chimnies to their houses, lay upon straw on the ground, covered themselves with skins fastened with skewers, and were tenants in common with the pigs which partook of the hospitality of their houses.

Hannibal, Hanno, and Jugurtha, all great warriors—the first equal to any in the ancient world, were Africans. Terence, the dramatist, was also an African.

"By the same process, by which the colonization of the coast tends to the suppression of the slave trade, it promotes the civilization of the interior of the continent of Africa. This is a topic, which, as it seems to me, has not received its share of consideration. Of this mighty continent, four times as large as Europe, one third part at least, is within the direct reach of influences, from the west of Europe and America, —influences, which, for three hundred years, have been employed through the agency of the slave trade, to depress and barbarize it; to chain it down to the lowest point of social degradation. I trust these influences are now to be employed in repairing the wrongs, in healing the wounds, in gradually improving the condition of Africa. I trust that a great reaction is at hand. Can it be believed that this mighty region, most of it overflowing with tropical abundance, was created and destined for eternal barbarity? Is it possible, in the present state of the public sentiment of the world, with the present rapid diffusion of knowledge,—with the present reduction of antiquated errors to the test of reason, that such a quarter of the world will be permitted to derive nothing but barbarianism, from intercourse with the countries which stand at the head of civilization? It is not possible.

"I know it is said, that it is impossible to civilize Africa. Why? Why is it impossible to civilize man in one part of the earth more than in another? Consult history. Was Italy —was Greece, the cradle of civilization? No. As far back as the lights of tradition reach, Africa was the cradle of science, while Syria, and Greece, and Italy, were yet covered with darkness. As far back as we can trace the first rudiments of improvement, they came from the very head waters of the Nile, far in the interior of Africa; and there are yet to be found, in shapeless ruins, the monuments of this primeval civilization. To come down to a much later period, while the west and north of Europe were yet barbarous, the Mediterranean coast of Africa was filled with cities, academies, museums, churches, and a highly civilized population. What has raised the Gaul, the Belgium, the Germany, the Scandinavia, the Britain of ancient geography, to their present improved and improving condition? Africa is not now sunk lower, than most of these countries were eighteen centuries ago; and the engines of social influence are increased a thousand fold in numbers and efficacy. It is not eighteen hundred years, since Scotland, whose metropolis has been called the Athens of modern Europe, the country of Hume, of Smith, of Robertson, of Blair, of Stewart, of Brown, of Jeffrey, of Chalmers, of Scott, of Brougham, was a wilderness, infested by painted savages. It is not a thousand years, since the north of Germany, now filled with beautiful cities, learned universities, and the best educated population in the world, was a dreary, pathless forest."— E. Everett.

Christianity and civilization were early introduced 31 into Africa. There were several provincial councils held there. At one of them, held in Carthage, in 397, the canon of the Roman Catholic Bible was settled. Another was held in the same place in 410—and two others at Milevi. In the fifth century, the number of Catholic bishops in Africa, was four hundred. Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, among the great lights of Christianity in their day, were Africans. And it is not too much to expect that future Hannibals, and Terences, and Cyprians, and Augustines will arise, to defend and illuminate that now benighted country. Should such a result take place, the merit will, in a great degree belong to the illustrious founders of the Colonization Society.

Philadelphia, May 10, 1832.

APPENDIX.

Letter from the Hon. James Madison, to the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. R. R. Gurley.

“ Montpelier, December 29, 1831.

“ *Dear Sir* —I received, in due time, your letter of the 21st ult. and with due sensibility to the subject of it. Such, however, has been the effect of a painful rheumatism on my general condition, as well as in disqualifying my fingers for the use of the pen, that I could not do justice “to the principles and measures of the Colonization Society, in all the great and various relations they sustain to our own country and to Africa,” if my views of them could have the value which your partiality supposes. I may observe, in brief, that the Society had always my good wishes, though with hopes of its success less sanguine than were entertained by others, found to have been the better judges; and, that I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties, afforded by the earlier and greater ones already overcome. Many circumstances, at the present moment, seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society, and cherishing the hope that the time will come, when the dreadful calamity, which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the general satisfaction: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example. I never considered the main difficulty of the great work, as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in an inadequacy of asylums for such a growing mass of population, and in the great expense of removing it to its new home. The spirit of private manumissions, as the laws may permit, and the exiles may consent, is increasing and will increase; and there are sufficient indications that the

public authorities in slave-holding states, are looking forward to interpositions in different forms that must have a powerful effect. With respect to the new abode for the emigrants, all agree, that the choice made by the Society, is rendered peculiarly appropriate by considerations which need not be repeated; and if other situations should not be found eligible receptacles for a portion of them, the prospects in Africa seem to be expanding in a highly encouraging degree.

"In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots, not dwelling in slave-holding states have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it.

"Should it be remarked, that the states, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, are not all equally so; it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefited, are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

"I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the constitution.

"Sincerely wishing an increasing success to the labours of the Society, I pray you to be assured of my esteem, and to accept my friendly salutation.

JAMES MADISON."

Extract of a letter from the Hon. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, dated Richmond, December 14, 1831.

"The great object of the Society, I presume, is to obtain pecuniary aids. Application will undoubtedly be made, I hope successfully, to the several State Legislatures, by the societies formed within them respectively. It is extremely desirable that they should pass permanent laws on the subject: and the excitement produced by the late insurrection, makes this a favourable moment for the friends of the Colony to press for such acts. It would be also desirable, if such a direction could be given to state legislation, as might have some tendency to incline the people of colour to migrate. This, however, is a subject of much delicacy. Whatever may be the success of our endeavours to obtain

acts for permanent aids, I have no doubt that our applications for immediate contributions, will receive attention. It is possible, though not probable, that more people of colour may be disposed to migrate than can be provided for, with the fund the Society may be enabled to command. Under this impression I suggested, some years past, to one or two of the Board of Managers, to allow a small additional bounty in lands, to those who would pay their own passage in whole or in part. The suggestion, however, was not approved.

"It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the general government. *Some of our cruisers stationed on the coast of Africa would, at the same time, interrupt the slave trade—a horrid traffic, detested by all good men, and would protect the vessels and commerce of the colony from pirates who infest those seas.* The power of the government to afford this aid, is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid, is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that can be devised.

"The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it; and its application would be, perhaps, less exposed to 32 those constitutional objections which are made in the south, than the application of money drawn from the treasury and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the government, under the idea of absolute ownership."

THE AFRICAN CHIEF ENSLAVED.

BY W. C. BRYANT.

Chain'd to the market place he stood, A man of giant frame; Amid the gathering multitude, That shrunk to hear his name.— All stern of look, and strong of limb, His dark eye on the ground; And silently they gaz'd on him, As on a lion bound.

Vainly, but well, that chief had fought, He was a captive now: Yet pride, that fortune humbles not Was written on his brow. The scars his dark broad bosom wore, Show'd warrior true and brave; A prince among his tribe before, He could not be a slave.

Then, to his conqueror he spake— "My brother is a king; "Undo this necklace from my neck, "And take this bracelet ring: "And send me where my brother reigns, "And I will fill thy hands "With stores of ivory from the plains, "And gold-dust from the sands."

"Not for thy ivory, or thy gold "Will I unbind thy chain; "That bloody hand shall never hold "The battle spear again! "A price, thy nation never gave, "Shall yet be paid for thee; "And thou shalt be the Christian's slave, "In lands beyond the sea."

Then wept the warrior chief: and bade To shred his locks away; And one by one, each heavy braid Before the warrior lay. Thick were the plaited locks, and long, And deftly hidden there, Shone many a wedge of gold, among The dark and crisped hair.

"Look! feast thy greedy eyes with gold, "Long kept for sorest need: "Take it—thou askest sums untold, "And say that I am freed: "Take it—my wife, the long, long day "Weeps by the cocoa tree, "And my young children leave their play, "And ask in vain for me."

"I take thy gold—but I have made "Thy fetters fast and strong; "And ween, that by the cocoa shade "Thy wife shall wait thee long." Strong was the agony that shook The captive's frame, to hear— And the proud meaning of his look, Was chang'd to mortal fear.

His heart was broken—craz'd his brain, At once his eyes grew wild; He struggled fiercely with his chain, Whimper'd, and wept, and smil'd; Yet wore not long those fatal bands And once, at close of day, They drew him forth upon the sands, The foul hyena's prey.

DEATH OF ASHMUN.

BY MRS. SIGOURNEY.

Whose is yon sable bier? Why move the throng so slow? Why doth that lonely mother's tear, In sudden anguish flow? Why is that sleeper laid To rest, in manhood's pride? How gain'd his cheek such pallid shade?— I spake—but none replied.

The hoarse wave murmur'd low, The distant surges roar'd— And o'er the sea, in tones of woe, A deep response was pour'd. I heard sad Afric mourn, Upon her billowy strand; A shield was from her bosom torn, An anchor from her hand.

Ah! well I know thee now, Though foreign suns would trace Deep lines of death upon thy brow— Thou friend of misery's race; Their leader, when the blast Of ruthless war swept by; Their teacher, when the storm was past, Their guide to worlds on high.

But o'er the lowly tomb, Where thy soul's idol lay, I saw thee rise above the gloom, And hold thy changeless way. Stern sickness woke a flame, That on thy vigour fed— But deathless courage nerv'd the frame, When health and strength had fled.

Spirit of power—pass on! Thy homeward wing is free; Earth may not claim thee for her son— She hath no chain for thee: Toil might not bow thee down, Nor sorrow check thy race— Nor pleasure win thy birthright crown,— Go to thy honour'd place!

LIBERIA.—BY THE SAME.

Winds! what have ye gather'd from Afric's strand As ye swept the breadth of that fragrant land? The breath of the spice-bud—the rich perfume Of balm, and of gum, and of flow'ret's bloom? “We have gather'd nought but the heathen's pray'r, “And the hopeless sigh of the heart's despair.”

Waves! what have ye heard on that ancient coast, Where Egypt the might of her fame did boast? Where the statue of Memnon saluted the morn, And the pyramids tow'r in their giant scorn? “We have heard the curse of the slave-ship's crew, “And the shriek of the chain'd, as the shores withdrew.”

Stars! what have ye seen with the glancing eye, From your burning thrones in the sapphire sky? “We have mark'd a gem, as it brightly glow'd “On Afric's breast, whence the blood-drop flow'd; “Pure light it sh'd on the dreary sod, “Like the mystic stones of the priest of God; “And we chaunted that hymn which we sang at first, “When the sun from the midnight of chaos burst.” *Hartford, Con.*